

MAR 14 '41 W

INDEXED

Incident #

✓

Jan 1941

The QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 547

JANUARY, 1941

Vol. 276

1. Food in War Time.
By Lord Horder, G.C.V.O., M.D.
2. India 1914-1940: An Historical Study.
By Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.
3. And After ?
By Sir John Marriott.
4. Memory in Birds and Beasts.
By Douglas Gordon.
5. The Effect of the War on Scientific Research.
By J. M. Watson, A.R.C.S.
6. The Douglas Cause: An Unpublished
Correspondence.
By W. Forbes Gray.
7. From Kant to Hitler.
By E. Müller-Sturmheim.
8. The Author in War Time.
By Cecil Palmer.
9. Some Aspects of Mining Reform.
By Daniel Davies.
10. Modern Greece.
By Sir Charles Petrie, Bart.
11. Britain at War.
By Lord Gorell, C.B.E., M.C.
Some Recent Books.

**DA*

13

547-48

276

Jan - April

1941

549

277

July

1941

Published Quarterly by

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY

Sole Agents for American Continent

131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK

Single Copies, \$1.75

Yearly Subscription, \$6.50

Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

TO SUBSCRIBERS

AND AGENCIES

Commencing with the January 1938 issue of the "QUARTERLY REVIEW," Subscribers will be supplied by the INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK CITY, to whom all renewals and enquiries regarding this periodical should be sent.

THE
QUARTERLY
REVIEW

No. 547

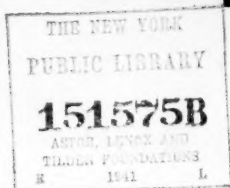
PUBLISHED IN
JANUARY, 1941.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.1.

NEW YORK:
THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY
1941

Entered as Second Class matter at the New York, U.S.A., Post Office

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



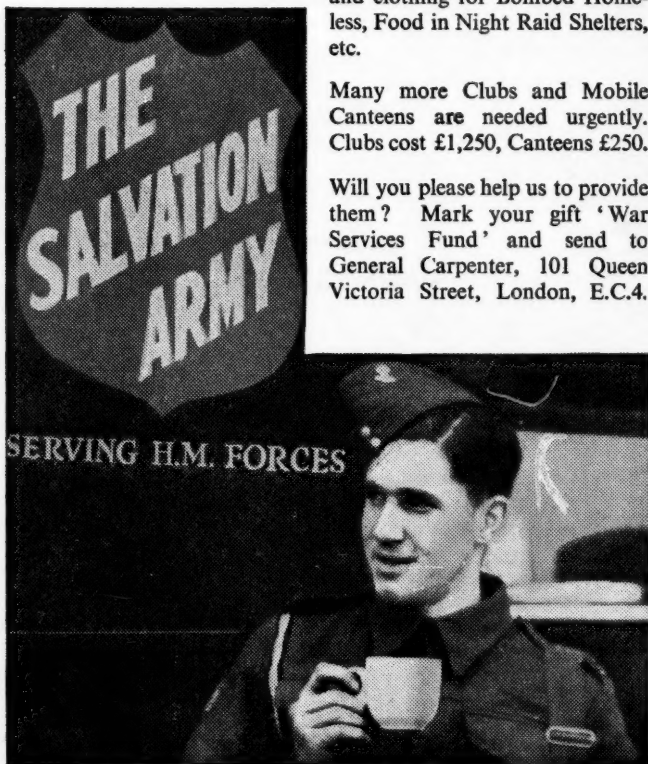
Why the Red Shield?

From Egypt to Iceland a million Service men and women eagerly seek this sign every week. They know the Red Shield stands for the place where they will find recreation — tasty refreshments — rest—in a cheery, friendly atmosphere.

The Red Shield is the symbol of The Salvation Army's ever expanding War Services: Clubs in Camps, Mobile Canteens, Comfortable Hostels in towns and ports, Canteens at Termini; Shelter and clothing for Bombed Homeless, Food in Night Raid Shelters, etc.

Many more Clubs and Mobile Canteens are needed urgently. Clubs cost £1,250, Canteens £250.

Will you please help us to provide them? Mark your gift 'War Services Fund' and send to General Carpenter, 101 Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.



Printed in Great Britain by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
London and Beccles.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 547.—JANUARY 1941.

Art. 1.—FOOD IN WAR TIME.

IN his critical yet constructive article on 'Agriculture and the Nation's Food' in this Review for July last Mr Hart-Synnot's theme was naturally restricted. No one could have presented more ably than he, in a second article, the position of physical education in its relation to nutrition *vis-à-vis* a nation at war for its life and for civilisation. But since the present writer has always maintained that it is an important part of the doctor's duty to society both to give guidance in such matters and to assist in bringing about a state of national fitness, he could not reasonably decline the invitation to undertake this task.

Doctor William Lloyd has recently reminded us that Sir Thomas More, in his 'Utopia,' envisaged in the forefront of public health an education directed to the attainment of physical and mental health: that was an ideal propounded over 400 years ago. 'To-day,' says Dr Lloyd, 'notwithstanding the advance of civilisation, this ideal is still far from attainment: the individual is first allowed to become sick or ill; he is then treated; and lastly, when the damage has been done, he receives, if he is fortunate, some incidental teaching on how to be healthy.'

'Properly conceived,' says Mr Hart-Synnot, 'physical education involves a revival of the Greek sense for beauty in the human form, that is, for a healthy, well-proportioned body exactly adapted to its functions. If once this sense became widely developed, the mutilation and destruction of this highest form of art, which war involves, would become detestable. For securing the ideal body scientific nutrition is indispensable. Hence a demand for the right foodstuffs

Vol. 276.—No. 547.

H V P L

produced from fertile soil (for this appears to be a definite factor of the food value of farm produce) and so for an efficient and prosperous rural community.

'The war upsets but does not destroy this programme, for we can begin at the opposite end. Few people care to-day to discuss Greek beauty. Everyone, however, is keenly interested in avoiding an empty stomach, and in making men fit to fight. If we can begin with an attempt to produce in England the foods which are nutritionally best, and use these economically to keep our soldiers and civilian population physically vigorous during war, we shall develop a nutrition system which can easily be adapted successfully to peace conditions.'

The present writer has drawn attention elsewhere to the fact that, dysgenic in the main though war is, we can still, if we are wise, salvage from its disastrous results not a few things that should prove of permanent value in the future life of the race—things which we may carry over into those 'peace aims' upon which the thoughts of many are even now concentrated.

War is a great accelerator. Many social services and benefits are speeded up as a part of the national war effort. This is seen in such matters as family allowances, insurance benefits to dependants, communal feeding, camps in reception areas, maternity homes in the country, and in a number of other public health aspects. Surely this vital matter of food in relation to national fitness can also be carried along in the rapid current of this same stream.

In this article the writer proposes to pass in review some of the difficulties, imagined and real, that lie in the path of the satisfactory pursuit of this objective during the present months of national stress.

I. What is the attitude of Science in the matter? There is an idea in the minds of many that we have to await the mandate of Science before we can safely embark upon the road of a sound national food policy. This error has arisen partly from a wrong conception of the function of Science in human life and partly from the public utterances of certain scientists themselves. What is really the relation of Science to this matter of food? The writer has dealt with this question in another place.

'Science is a large storehouse of discovered truth into which we may delve for our benefit and our guidance. . . . But let me remind you that health does not necessarily depend upon Science at all. There were healthy persons living before Science, as we understand it to-day, existed. . . . We mustn't mistake the explanation which Science gives us as to *why* these folk were healthy for any supposed scientific methods that *kept* them healthy. . . . To tell the truth, Nature taught man how to be healthy long before Science discovered the laws of health.

'Take this business of nutrition. . . . Science is slowly discovering why it is that a mixed diet, containing foods that have not been too much tampered with, makes for health. . . . Those of our ancestors who were healthy ate what is now called a "balanced diet" without knowing it.

'Science enables us to "check-up" the facts in regard to the nation's diet. . . . This new knowledge is of great value in helping us to discover if any section of the community is being inadequately nourished, and why. . . . Certain important principles emerge. One is that the simpler and more restricted the food the less must we interfere with its nutritive value, whether in its manufacture or in its cooking: in this case bread must be made from the whole of the meal, potato must be whole potato, and rice must be the whole of the rice. If, on the other hand, the articles of food are widely assorted, deficiencies in one or two are easily made good in others. You can "balance" your diet in either case, but it is clearly the poor man's table that needs the investigations of Science and not the table of the well-to-do."*

This view of the relation between Science and human experience has been still more recently expressed, and in his customary lucid manner, by Sir William Bragg.†

'Science is built on the accumulation of experiences,' he writes, 'and every scientist knows that he must not base his conclusions only on the last few experiments in the laboratory. He must take into account all that has been done before. . . . Now in this matter of food the scientist is at the present time insisting that certain old ways are best. . . .'

He proceeds to quote Professor Drummond's contention that Englishmen were worse fed at the end of the last century than at any time during the preceding 200

* 'Health and a Day' (First Edition), pp. 104 *et seq.*

† 'The Wartime Choice of Food,' 'The Times,' Oct. 26, 1940.

years, a fact which is attributable to the plentiful supply of white bread and meat and the greatly lessened consumption of milk, vegetables, fruit, and whole-meal bread.

A hundred years ago our carters and our ploughmen were 'fighting fit.' Science does not say this was not possible, seeing that they had no exact knowledge about nutrition; it takes cognisance of the fact and proceeds to find out why. Compare the attitude of the highbrow-scientist who, when asked if a soup can be made that shall possess nutritive qualities, says: 'I'll start a research on the point and let you know,' whereas the soup kitchens of forty years ago produced empirically a soup which, if not a complete food, approached near enough to it to prove a valuable contribution to the diet of many workers. The dilettantish charlatanism of peace time replaced the food values of such soups by the concentrates which, as Science assures us, are little more than palatable hot drinks. But now that it is *food* that concerns us, there returns the more primary need for the soup that *is* food, and—why not?—the soup kitchen as part of the canteen system.

Science, then, far from being deterrent, is on the side of accelerating our return to the sort of diet that kept our fathers and forefathers fit, and it gives us its sanction and assurance that we are on sound and rational lines.

II. The Government's food policy, embracing production, importation, distribution, and storage, is now, it is believed, in good hands. The writer was one of the signatories to a memorial sent to the Prime Minister last May, urging the adoption of a clearer and more embracing scheme. The basic contribution of this memorial was that those responsible for the nation's food should constantly bear in mind what are the foods on which the people can be kept fit. These are: milk, potatoes, fresh vegetables, fruit, cereals, fats (butter, margarine, bacon), and sugar. It was pointed out that the whole consumption of the first three of these can be grown at home. If only we made better use of our home-grown fruit we should be able considerably to reduce our imports of this food. As for cereals, we could grow all the oats we need and a good deal more of the wheat and barley that we consume and now import.

A comprehensive food policy connotes close and con-

stant interdepartmental action between the Ministries of Food, Agriculture, and Transport. Following upon the acceptance of the fundamental needs of the nation as above defined, there are, as Mr Hart-Synnot says, three consecutive steps necessary.

'First, an exact calculation by the Minister of Food of the minimum food supplies of the kinds necessary to keep the nation and its armed forces healthy and vigorous. Second, as accurate an estimate as possible by the Ministries of Trade and Shipping of the minimum imports of food supplies and animal feeding-stuffs likely for political or trading reasons to be available. Third, a statement of the balance, which as far as possible ought to be produced at home. Then, and not until then, can the Minister of Agriculture allot to the agricultural industry the clear task for which all agriculturists are anxiously waiting. If good results are to be obtained in the harvest year 1941, farmers should know without delay exactly what crops and stock are especially needed for the years immediately ahead.'

It is difficult to see why, with its policy reduced to such a clear issue as this, the powerful aid of Government should not be given towards implementing modern knowledge on nutrition and towards the speeding up of the process which had begun in peace time but which was so tardy in its progress.

III. Science may give sanctions and Government may attempt control through directing and subsidising production and distribution, through selective imports and through fixing prices, but intelligent cooperation on the part of the consumer is essential to success in this campaign for feeding the people properly in war time. Can we not accelerate along the desired lines, educationally? Unless we can do this we may yet be missing a great opportunity given by war conditions. It is often assumed that the standard of living or wages earned alone determine the approximation of the citizen's food to the known principles of a healthy diet. Even Sir John Orr, whose researches into the food of the nation are so well known and so deservedly accepted, in concluding that the food of nearly a third of the population in this country is below the standard necessary for health, encourages the corollary that this fact is due to want of purchasing power, or lack of supply, or both. Mr Walworth deduces from statistics

that 'purchasing power is the restricting factor in the consumption of the principal agricultural food commodities, except in the case of wheat and potatoes.' But it might be advanced, in this connection, that the standard of dietetic knowledge (and, it may be added, the standard of cooking knowledge) is no less important than the 'standard of living' even if not so important as 'purchasing power.' The family budget is all too prone to repeat the city 'sausage and mashed' with equal frequency on a rising, as on a stationary, earning power. Moreover, when Sir John Orr urges that 'we should fix the price (of essential basic foods) in relation to the purchasing power of the poorest family and pin it at that level' he is still to a large extent dependent for the success of his policy upon Mrs Jones and her preference for sausages.

The same fallacy creeps into Mr Walworth's analysis of the country's milk consumption: this, he says, 'is five times as great in the top as in the bottom group, again on account of cost and not taste.' Mr Hart-Synnot concurs: 'there is little doubt that, if the price is kept low enough, all classes, including the very poor, will consume enough.'

How satisfactory, and how relatively simple, if dietetic salvation might be so easily assured! The fact that between a third and a quarter of the children eligible for this benefit are not participating in the 'milk-in-schools' scheme alone suggests apathy and indifference and the need for a strenuous educational campaign. Sir William Crawford quotes * Burnet and Ackroyd as saying: 'it is clear that a mere increase in wages would not eliminate the dietary deficiency associated with poverty: education is also necessary (and not only for the poor), and should include instruction in marketing, food values, cooking, and methods of preservation.' Sir William adds: 'Education and advertising are but different words for the same principle.' Lest this may be regarded as special pleading, Sir William proceeds to the generalisation with which all must agree:

'A national campaign is over-due to awaken the public to a full understanding of the importance of the different food-

* 'The People's Food,' p. 303.

stuffs for creating and maintaining healthy bodies. A "Keep Fit" campaign cannot achieve success in exercise, fresh air, and sports only, important as these are. It must have as foundation fully developed and healthy bodies, in the production of which food is, by far, the greatest factor.'

If we want to intensify this campaign, as we surely do, we must use all the means available; we must use guerrilla warfare, together with an 'all-in' totalitarian fight for health. We must begin by primary school education through the Board of Education and follow this in the secondary and technical schools. Perhaps a little less theory and a little more dogma might not be amiss at the moment; less of 'basal,' 'optimal,' and 'marginal' diets and more of what we are now all agreed *are* the foods that make for health. Governmental propaganda through the Ministry of Food is already active: such leaflets as 'Our Food To-day: how to eat wisely in war time' are excellent. We must encourage such voluntary bodies as the Food Education Society and the Children's Nutrition Council. We must use existing advertisement methods under the direction of their best exponents. We must harness to the same purpose such helpful machinery as the Home Services of the electricity and gas corporations. We must utilise the Women's Institutes. We must use the mobile and fixed canteen services as demonstration centres. Here the smaller choice of carefully selected foods at basic prices should help much in spreading the doctrine of a wholesome diet. We must extend communal feeding. In both these last services we have splendid opportunities of weaning the housewife from her eternal 'sausage and mashed' and canned foods, both by cultivating healthier tastes and by making her more kitchen-conscious, thus going far to check what Professor Palmer calls 'the food annihilation which passes for cooking in most English kitchens.'* Through these services, too, we can popularise such meals as the Oslo breakfast.

We can, if we plan wisely, within quite a short period during the present speed-up of life, enable the town worker to retrace his steps in the matter of diet, making

* Quoted by Mr Charles Hecht in 'Some Obstacles to Education in Nutrition' (Food Education Society), p. 42.

more accessible the wholesome foods that his ancestors ate, and which, when he became urbanised, he unfortunately discarded.

At the same time we can make less available the more unsuitable foods which have for the past two generations taken their place. In such planning the Minister of Food has the guidance and the backing of Science and Medicine. He is in a key position and should command the support of all who have this fundamental matter at heart. Between him and his colleagues in the Ministries of Agriculture and Transport the closest cooperation should exist: departmental, yes, but compartmental, no.

'No one,' writes Sir John Orr, 'can foresee the future, but we hope *when the fighting finishes we will start** to build a new world with a better social and economic system than the past one, which is ending in the present war.'

Why not start now?

HORDER.

*Italics are the present writer's.

Art. 2.—INDIA, 1914-40: AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

1. *The Round Table Quarterly Reviews* from September 1939 to September 1940, inclusive.
2. *The Calcutta Weekly Statesman* from September 1939 up to date.
3. *Enlist India for Freedom!* By Edward Thompson. 'Victory Books' No. 5. Gollancz, 1940.
4. *Jawahirlal Nehru—An Autobiography.* 1936.
5. *The Indian Struggle, 1920-34.* By Subhas C. Bose. 1935.
6. *The Indian Empire Review* (48, Broadway, organ of the Indian Empire Society) numbers for May 1934 and December 1938.
7. *Nationhood for India.* By Lord Meston, Oxford University Press, 1931.
8. *Great Men of India*, edited by L. F. Rushbrook Williams, quondam fellow of All Souls College. (Home Library Club 1939).
9. *The Asiatic Review*, July and October 1940 numbers.

1914-19

TWENTY years ago, shortly after my retirement from the Indian Civil Service, I endeavoured in a modest volume to trace the course of the Indian Nationalist Movement. As Commissioner of Lucknow I had witnessed India's entry into the last World War. I recalled my impressions of August 1914 in these words :

'The country was exceedingly quiet, the Legislative Councils were working well; the Ruling Chiefs, the commercial, military and territorial classes were loyal and contented; relations with Afghanistan and the frontier tribes were good. India was ready to meet the storm which burst so suddenly, and she met it well. The circumstances of the beginning of the great struggle, the cause in which Britain was to fight, touched the warm Indian imagination. Conservative and advanced classes alike rejoiced in the despatch of Indian troops to the Front. The energetic loyalty of the Ruling Chiefs set a splendid example to the whole country. Politicians followed the initiative of one of their leaders, who moved in the Imperial (Legislative) Council that India

should be allowed to share in the financial burdens which the war must entail. They responded to the Viceroy's appeal for suspension of domestic controversy.'

Messrs. Thompson and Garratt, in their book 'The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India' (p. 599), agree with this view and observe that

'genuine and immediate demonstrations of loyalty affected many who might have felt that England's difficulties were India's opportunities, and astonished those who believed that the outbreak of such a war would be followed by a rapid disruption of the Empire. Such a view, though shared by the German Staff, was based on a misreading of Indian history: apart from an insignificant section of Extremists, few Indians at that time believed that it would be possible to establish an independent national government; fewer still wanted a change of masters; and there was a deep-seated confidence, which dated perhaps from the Mutiny, in the ultimate ability of the British to "muddle through" a war.'

It was not long, however, before acute danger appeared in the Punjab, which, with the adjacent North-West Frontier province, is veritably the gateway to India from Afghanistan and Central Asia, and has been again and again traversed by raiders and conquerors before and after the time of Alexander the Great up to the establishment of British power in Northern India. Of its population in 1914, eleven per cent. were Sikhs, thirty-three per cent. were Hindus, and fifty-five per cent. were Muhammadans. Its agriculturists had long supplied some of the best soldiers in the Indian Army. Excitable and adventurous by nature, they are susceptible to impassioned appeals, particularly if made in the name of religion. The Bengali Hindu revolutionists of the imaginative and ambitious literary class had for some years had their eye upon the Sikhs. These martial people, together with 'the clever Bengalis,' would make a powerful combination.

From September 1914 onwards there returned to the Punjab from the Far East, Canada, and the U.S.A. large batches of Punjabi emigrants, some thousands in all, who had been considerably infected by the violently revolutionary doctrines preached by the 'Ghadr' (war),

a newspaper which had been freely circulated in the United States by an Indian association in that country, and smuggled into India in 1913. The situation which resulted and speedily developed in 1914-15 is vividly described in chapters XII and XIII of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's 'India as I knew it,' a book which enables us to grasp adequately the perils which at that critical time beset his province, and which were averted by his resolute and courageous administration in such a manner that healthy influences were able to assert themselves, when given room and space by the firm maintenance of law and order, and were encouraged by the heroic conduct of the Sikhs at Gallipoli on June 14, 1915. 'After that day,' he writes, 'the rush to the colours in the Sikh districts was extraordinary. In the four years of war the Sikhs, from a total population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions—less than one per cent. of British India—furnished no less than 90,000 combatant recruits, one-eighth of India's total.'

Sir Austen Chamberlain was Secretary of State for India from May 1915 to July 1917. In a private letter written shortly after leaving office he thus expressed his appreciation of O'Dwyer's services * :

'O'Dwyer rules one of the pivotal provinces of India. The North-West (Frontier) Province, the United Provinces, and the Punjab, these are the provinces on which the safety of India depends. From the Punjab comes the great bulk of the Indian Army, and its peoples have responded nobly to the call made upon them. In the early days of the war, and on the return of the Sikh emigrants from Canada, it was the theatre of widespread conspiracy and some disturbances. Through all this O'Dwyer piloted it with great skill, firmness, and moderation.'

But in spite of his great services the gateway of India, from its close proximity to the frontier tribes and Afghanistan, remained a most anxious charge to its rulers, himself and Sir George Roos-Keppel, and later events were to show how amply this anxiety was justified.

I turn now to down-country developments on the broad and fertile plains of India, with their towns and villages and varied populations. In August 1914 B. G.

* 'Life of Sir Austen Chamberlain,' Petrie, II.

Tilak, the father of Indian political extremism, emerging from jail for a second time, had disclaimed hostility to the government and condemned 'the acts of violence which had been committed in various parts of India.' But before the close of that year he had written to G. K. Gokhale, the most influential of the Moderate leaders who dominated the Congress, then and now essentially a Hindu body, proposing a policy of Irish obstruction within the limits of the law which would bring the Administration to a standstill and compel it to capitulate to a demand for self-government. He wished therefore to rejoin the Congress or would work through a separate organisation. His offer was not accepted; but in 1915 Gokhale and another stout Moderate died.

In December 1915 Sir Satyendra, afterwards Lord, Sinha, leader of the Calcutta Bar, who had sat on the Viceroy's Executive Council some years before, presided over the Congress annual gatherings which were held in Bombay.

His opening speech expressed profound gratitude to Britain for the 'peace and blessings of civilisation' secured to India under her protection for so long. But 'a reasoned ideal of the future' was now required which would satisfy the rising generation and arrest anarchism, which would at the same time meet with British approval: that was the establishment of democracy, for which India was at present unfit, as, 'free from England, and without a real power of resistance, she would immediately be in the thick of another struggle of nations.' But when Indians had advanced so far as to be able not only to manage their own affairs but to secure peace and prevent external aggression, it would be the interest and duty of England to 'concede the fullest autonomy to India.' He exhorted his audience to work to uplift the poor, to remedy 'ignorance, poverty, and disease.' By these means could government 'of the people, for the people and by the people' be obtained.

A committee was appointed to consider a Home Rule scheme propounded by Mrs Annie Besant.

The Muslim politicians were disgruntled because two of their leaders, the brothers Shaukat and Muhammad Ali, had been in the preceding March interned for disloyal pro-Turkish agitation. When the Grand Sharif of Mecca,

with British encouragement, revolted from the Sultan's authority, Indian Muslim irritation increased and developed into the Khilafatist movement, which, backed by Mr Gandhi's loud sympathy, was to give so much trouble when the War was over.

In April 1916 Lord Hardinge of Penshurst made over charge to Lord Chelmsford. Lord Hardinge had earned much popularity among advanced Indians by expressions of sympathy with the grievances of their countrymen in South Africa and with their own political aspirations, as well as by his patient and noble bearing under an anarchist attack on his life, which very nearly succeeded and laid him up for some weeks. In a valedictory speech to the Imperial Legislative Council he emphasised the difference between conditions in Dominions such as Canada and Australia and conditions in India. But after the Irish rebellion of April political agitation in India was taken in hand by Mrs Besant and Tilak, and a Home Rule League was started, the leaders making many speeches which inculcated discontent at a time when the whole Empire was fighting for its life. At the Lucknow meetings of December 1916 the Congress and Muslim League declared for Home Rule and Congress Extremists and Moderates formally reunited. On Aug. 20, 1917, Edwin Montagu, who had recently succeeded Austen Chamberlain as Secretary of State, read to the House of Commons a declaration of policy approved by the Government which was to place India by 'measured stages' in the position of a self-governing 'integral part of the British Empire.' Substantial steps in this direction would be taken as soon as possible, and on the Viceroy's invitation he would proceed to India and consult with the Viceroy and local governments. Parliament, on whom responsibility lay for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance and must be guided by the cooperation they received from those upon whom responsibilities of service would be conferred and upon the extent to which it was found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Montagu came out to India and started work in November. But before his arrival organised and violent attacks on Muhammadans by Hindus in some villages of Bihar caused a state of turmoil

in those parts unparalleled since the days of the Mutiny. The object was to stop cow-killing, and the cry was 'British rule is gone.' The occurrences showed how wide was the cleft between the politicians and the masses, and how deep are the differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Montagu, however, considered that such differences had 'toned down.' He travelled about India with the Viceroy and the Home member of the Central Government, sat in consultations at Delhi, interviewed provincial governors, officials and politicians, and returned to England with agreed proposals which were examined by a Joint Parliamentary Committee of Lords and Commons with the assistance of official and non-official witnesses, British and Indian, and eventually formed the ground for the Government of India Act of 1919. The new constitution thereby established came into action in January 1921. It enlarged the franchises very considerably, established a Central Government of two Houses, a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly, increased the Indian element in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and placed the provinces under British-cum-Indian Executive Councils, which, by the process of dyarchy, were to pass painlessly into responsible Indian Governments. Provincial Legislative Councils were to be enlarged; a Council of Princes was established, and the British element in the Civil Service was to be automatically reduced. Ten years after the first meeting of the new Councils, Parliament would appoint a committee of its members who would visit India and investigate the results of these reforms.

'In the East,' said Lord Kitchener, 'it is always to-morrow.' India had passed well through the long war-period. In men, munitions, materials of many kinds she had rendered invaluable service to the Allied cause. But the 1918 monsoon had failed badly, the country had been visited by a severe influenza epidemic, and inflammatory political speeches had stimulated discontent. Grave trouble arose soon after the Armistice. The (Rowlatt) anti-sedition legislation is fully described in my 'History of the Nationalist Movement.' Early in 1918 a committee of five met in Calcutta, appointed by the Central Government. The President was Mr Justice Rowlatt, of the King's Bench, who had been deputed from England for

the purpose. Other members were the Chief Justice of Bombay, a Hindu Judge of the Madras High Court, a Hindu lawyer of distinction in Calcutta, and myself. The revolutionary or anarchist movement alluded to by the President of the 1915 Congress had left a long trail of murders and outrages in Bengal and had established a reign of fear which prevented witnesses from coming forward to give evidence in trials of terrorists, and thus defeated the statute law. The infection had spread to other provinces but had been temporarily arrested by the Defence of India Act, a war-time measure, and by employing an old Regulation of 1818 which permitted internments of suspect terrorists after careful inquiry but without trial in open court. On the conclusion of the War the Defence of India Act would lapse, but revolutionary propaganda was still busy in Bengal schools and colleges and had spread elsewhere. The Governments of India and Bengal wished to see if legislation could be devised which would prevent a relapse to the pre-War state of things. The Report and recommendations of the Committee and the subsequent debates in the Imperial Legislative Council, together with the agitation which followed on the passing of one of two Bills which was only to be used on the occurrence of an emergency, are all described in my 'History of the Nationalist Movement.' The narrative is based on my experiences as a member both of the Rowlatt Committee and of the Imperial Legislative Council that passed this Bill framed on its proposals. On their page 606 Messrs Thompson and Garratt state that the Bills were manifestations of 'the selfish and hubristic attitude of the European population.' The absurdity of this accusation is evident from consideration of the following facts. The Report was written and signed at Calcutta in April 1918 when the British in India were far indeed from a hubristic frame of mind. It first came before the Imperial Legislative Council in September, signed by two high caste Hindu lawyers of incontestable position and authority as well as by the three British members of the Committee. No one then expected that peace would come so soon. A solitary Hindu member moved that consideration of the Report should be 'held in abeyance,' and after a debate and a division found only one supporter. Then two Bills were

framed and published which came up for discussion in February 1919, when one (the Bill which could only come into force in an emergency) was debated. Meantime the Extremists outside had begun to work up a flaming agitation. When the Bill went to a special committee it was strongly opposed, the Moderates altering their September attitude. From his Asram (school of doctrine) at Ahmadabad, in Gujerat, Mr Gandhi and members of the local branch of the Home Rule League published a pledge declaring that if the Bill were passed they would 'civilly refuse' to obey not only the new measure but 'such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed should think fit.' In the struggle they would faithfully follow the truth and 'refrain from violence to life, person, or property.' The Moderates condemned this pledge, justly pointing out that it might lead anywhere; but they did not relax their opposition to the Bill, which, to the acute disappointment of the Government, was carried against the votes of all the elected Indian members. A campaign of deliberate mendacity intensified.

'The Congress had accepted the view that nationalist propaganda was a war-time weapon and there was no need for it to be based on truth. Though ultimately this has disillusioned many of their friends abroad, the method is effective in India, where fact and fancy are liable to be confused, and there is little serious political controversy.' *

Mr Gandhi had persuaded himself that the Bills were 'altogether unwarranted by the evidence published in the Report and such as no self-respecting people would submit to.' † On his initiative the civil disobedience agitation formally began with a day's 'hartal,' closure of shops and business as a sign of mourning, for which he appealed on the ground that they were beginning 'a sacred fight.' The 'hartal' was observed and enforced in Delhi on March 30, and bullying and violence resulted. Eventually the police had to fire on crowds. For some days shops were closed and traffic was obstructed. The infection spread to the Punjab and Bombay and cul-

* Thompson and Garratt, p. 607.

† 'Mahatma Gandhi,' p. 294.

minated in riots, in murders of Europeans in and near Amritsar, in the imposition of martial law, and in the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh. Mr Gandhi was at first deeply penitent and regretted that when he embarked upon a mass movement he 'underrated the forces of evil.' He assisted in restoring order in Ahmadabad, where rioting was particularly violent, and a poor Indian official was burnt to death with kerosene oil. Mr Gandhi managed, however, to persuade himself that 'Satyagrahi' (truth-force) had nothing to do with the violence of the mob, but he advised his 'Satyagrahi' followers to suspend 'civil disobedience' temporarily. 'The lawless deeds,' he said, 'showed concerted action and there were clever men behind them.' He was, however, clearly himself the lighter of the whole train of tragedies. He did not indeed want violence, but admits that when his 'Satyagraha Sabha' was deliberating he could see that his emphasis on truth and 'Ahimsa' (non-violence) had begun to be disliked by some of its members. His subsequent conduct shows that his repentance was only temporary.

The riots were closely followed by an invasion from Afghanistan which, O'Dwyer writes, was 'encouraged if not instigated by emissaries from Delhi and Amritsar.'

1920-40

The 1919 constitution has now, 'like an insubstantial pageant,' faded and has largely given place to a new one established by Parliament in 1935, after eight years of incubation. The Simon Commission, a States Committee, an Auxiliary Education Committee, the Government of India, Round Table Conferences in London between British and Indian statesmen, prolonged inquiries by a select Joint Parliamentary Committee, debates in both Houses have all played their parts and contributed a library of blue books that might daunt the most zealous researcher. By far the most outstanding change made by the Act is the replacement of dyarchy by responsible government in the major provinces. Human nature being what it is, dyarchy was destined to an early doom, but within its brief spell of life it provided some useful preparation for the proclaimed goal of a parliamentary

system, and had shown sufficient vitality to baffle attempts by the enemy to destroy it. The Act of 1935 provided for a federal Central Government and Legislature which would represent the provinces of British India and the princes of the Indian States. Until these innovations were ready to function the existing arrangements, the Governor-General in Council, the Council of State, and Legislative Assembly, would remain. But federation is so far merely a name, despite the earnest endeavours of the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, to make it a reality. On closer approach it is distasteful to princes and politicians for different reasons, and in September 1939 was placed in cold storage for the duration of the War, with no audible murmurs from those most concerned.

In 1929 the Viceroy, Lord Halifax, then Lord Irwin, paid a short visit to England, and on his return announced the Home Government's consent to a declaration that the ultimate and logical goal of the pronouncement of Aug. 20, 1917, was the attainment by India of Dominion status. Four years later the Statute of Westminster was enacted, by which liberty was conceded to each of the Dominions to choose whether or not she would join the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations in a declaration of war.

War has now been going on for over a year, and where do India and her politicians stand? From all accounts general sentiment is on the side of truth and right. Congress, however, declaring that India had not been consulted as to her participation in the struggle, wished to bargain.

Mr Edward Thompson, in his recently published booklet 'Win India for Freedom!' claims a Congress numerical strength of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of the 285 millions of British India. On June 19, 1940, however, 'The Times' puts the figure at 2,973,452 (a fall of approximately one-third), and states that the enrolment of 1938-9 was swollen by bogus names, and that last year the Congress leaders emphasised the need for adopting effective measures for putting an end to corruption. There was reason to believe that among other contributory causes of this recent fall was anti-Congress propaganda by the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha (great assembly), and other political organisations, also dissatisfaction with

the working of the late Congress ministries in eight major provinces, who, toward the end of 1939, resigned office under orders from their Central Working Committee, and by so doing made it necessary for the Viceroy to authorise Governors and official advisers to carry on administration under the provisions of the Act of 1935. Mr Thompson says that in order to avoid embarrassing the Central Government in these critical times the Congress (High Command) has refrained from launching 'civil disobedience.' He gives the impression that he thinks this abstention magnanimous on their part, but does not explain to the British elector, the 'Caesar' to whom he appeals, what soft-sounding 'civil disobedience' turned out to be when practised in 1921-2 and 1930-4. As Mr Gandhi and the Congress Committee have very recently changed their minds and launched another campaign under the title of 'individual civil disobedience' at this critical time, Caesar should be reminded of the nature of the previous campaigns, the course of which has been clearly traced in the 'India' Reports annually laid before Parliament by the Secretary of State, written for these years by Messrs Rushbrooke Williams and John Coatman. The same events are discussed from a Congress (left) point of view, in the 'History of the Indian Struggle' by Mr Subhas Chandra Bose (1935), and in the autobiography of Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru (1936), books which explain the development of Congress activities under Mr Gandhi's guidance. In 'Mahatma Gandhi's Own Story,' by the late C. F. Andrews, we can read of the earlier and South African experiences of this man who within our period has played so conspicuous a part. In his 1921-2 'non-cooperation' alias 'civil disobedience' campaign which ran parallel to a similar Muslim 'Khilafatist' enterprise under the leadership of the Ali brothers, now dead, he promised again and again to erect a nebulous 'Swaraj,' 'self-government,' on the ruins of British authority in India. Both campaigns came in gently and both followed a lawless and blood-stained course. The Khilafatists relaxed their efforts after the arrest, trial, and conviction of their two leaders, which followed on an attempt, backed later by Mr Gandhi, to seduce Muslim soldiers from their duty. They were imprisoned for two years and their movement was finally

killed by the abolition of the Khilafat by the Turks themselves. Gandhi's movement turned out to be a camouflaged dispersion of the seeds of racial hatred, lawlessness, bullying, and violence which eventually produced the Bombay riots of Nov. 17, 1921, when about fifty-three were killed and four hundred were wounded on the day of the landing of the Prince of Wales, and led the author of the tragedy to confess :

' With non-violence on our lips we have terrorised those who happened to disagree with us. The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. . . . I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt, and I feel myself not fully capable of controlling that spirit.'

Unfortunately this uncontrolled spirit of violence was of no means confined to Bombay. Throughout northern India there was open intimidation on the part of paid and unpaid 'national volunteers'; bullying was widespread and organised. But Mr Gandhi held on his course, in spite of his Bombay repentance, and only after the bloody tragedy of Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces did he suspend his movement. Even then, on remonstrance from the Congress Working Committee* who were still impenitent, he allowed that 'individual civil disobedience, whether defensive or aggressive,' might be undertaken if approved by a Congress provincial committee. But then at last he was arrested, charged with spreading disaffection openly and systematically, with waging a campaign to render government impossible and to overthrow it. He frankly pleaded guilty. He could not dissociate himself from 'the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrage of Bombay.' He had known that he was playing with fire, but if released he would run the risk again. Non-violence was the first and last article of his creed. He had either to submit to a system which he considered to have done irreparable harm to his country or 'run the risk of the mad fury of his people bursting out when they heard it from his lips. He knew that his people had gone mad sometimes and

* The Moderates had before this become a Separate National Liberal Federation.

was sorry.' The Judge sentenced him to six years' imprisonment, remarking :

' I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have believed that violence would not be the inevitable consequence it passes my capacity to understand.'

The proceedings and the sentence were received with complete calm by all sections of the public. He was released in less than two years to undergo an operation and remained at large.

Mr. H. R. C. Hailey,* Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division of Oudh throughout this movement, kindly allows me to quote some passages from an unpublished memorandum which he recorded after retirement in 1922. He had to deal with Civil Disobedience within his charge.

' The non-cooperation campaign,' he wrote,

' instead of uniting the whole of the discontented elements in the country into a solid opposition with the object of overthrowing the government, through capturing the Councils, has done exactly the opposite. It has divided India into very numerous warring sections, and by weakening the authority of the British Government has loosened the cement that was holding the whole together. Taking the main sections—the Muhammadans of Northern India have now one aspiration, viz. the restoration of Muslim rule. Speaking from a perusal of many (perhaps hundreds) of speeches I can say that this aspiration runs in one form or another through all; and the more ignorant Muhammadans, to whom the name of Gandhi makes no appeal, have been stirred up by hopes of such a restoration brought about by aid either from Afghanistan or Turkey. The Extremist Sikhs are similarly aiming at restoration of their rule. So far from the Hindus being a united body, they are no less split up into factions, each seeking its own interest and aggrandisement. The fact is that non-cooperation was no policy at all, and each agitator interpreted it according to the audience he was addressing. . . . As for the town population it is notorious that the workmen in factories and railways are continually striking without forming any definite demands, being really stimulated by agitators with promises of impossible wages when "swaraj"'

* H. R. C. Hailey, C.B.E., C.I.E.

is attained. Thus, with the weakening of authority following on the reforms and the ensuing non-cooperation campaign, India shows signs of breaking up again into warring sections somewhat on the lines of those existing before British rule was established, with this great difference, viz. that the landlord class have lost their strength and would be by themselves incapable of holding in check either the tenants or low caste labourers still less the numerous "badmash" or lawless element living by crime which has always been numerically strong in India.'

Here the writer attributes the sack of thirty villages to the landless labourers, mostly descendants of the old non-Aryan population, kept in subjection for centuries by 'the high caste Hindu landholders' with everything to gain and nothing to lose by change. He continues :

'The agitators one and all point out that the only obstacle to the attainment of "swaraj" and the benefits forthcoming from it, is the presence of the few Englishmen in India and the English Army. The landless classes, for instances, are told that once the English Government is removed the golden rule of Gandhi will be established and they will all get land. . . . Though actual violence is rarely advocated, in deference to Gandhi's avowed policy of non-violence, the purport of these speeches is unmistakable and they can only have one effect on the minds of an ignorant audience. Coupled with these attacks on Government and its officers, threats and intimidation are directed against police officers and others who remain faithful to the British Government.'

The writer continues this weighty indictment ; but I have quoted enough to show its convincing force.

The history of the next civil disobedience movement began when Lord Irwin had recently returned to India with the announcement regarding 'Dominion status' and had just escaped an attempt made by the terrorists to blow up his train as it approached Delhi. As the movement closely resembled its predecessor in character, although it had been more elaborately organised and lasted longer, I notice it very briefly. It was undoubtedly even more prejudicial to the cause of Indian unity and progress. It had been hatched at a time when India was nearly distracted by communal strife,* and it provoked

* See quotation in my article in 'Quarterly Review' of July 1928, p. 192.

constant communal rioting. The worst outbreaks were at Peshawar, at Benares, where a poor Muslim cloth-seller was murdered for refusing to bow to a Congress edict for the boycott of foreign cloth, and at Cawnpore, where the Muslims took strong exception to an order from the local Congress committee that shops should be closed as a demonstration against the execution of a convicted political assassin. In all three cities the hooligan or criminal class took a hand in the riots. On July 22, 1931, the Governor of the United Provinces, addressing his Council, said that in certain tracts villages had been visited by 'volunteers' who had intervened between landlords and tenants with disastrous effects, proclaiming that the only hope for the future was a workmen and peasants' republic which would abolish landlords, sweeping those who resisted the Congress 'beyond the Seven Seas.' Murderous attacks on landlords and outrages on all officials executing legal processes, refusals by tenants to pay any rent at all, had naturally resulted from such activities.

'The Times' of Aug. 4, 1931, reported that terrorism and 'civil disobedience' together had so weakened the bonds which held society together in Bengal that 'where one policeman formerly sufficed ten were now required.' Revivals of the old terrorism had necessitated legislative measures in this province in 1925 and 1930 and were to call for other measures later on 'compared with which,' complains Jawahirlal Nehru, 'the Rowlatt Bill might almost be considered a charter of liberty' (his p. 41). It is exceedingly difficult to understand what this writer thinks that a Government which is responsible for peace and order in a great sub-continent should do when confronted with vigorous conspiracies to throttle and overthrow it at any cost. His part in this third 'non-violent' movement was played out when, on Feb. 22, 1934, he was sentenced by the (Indian) Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta to two years' simple imprisonment for delivering speeches which, in the Magistrate's words, 'were animated by an implacable hostility to the established government.' In one speech he had declared that he saw in the measures to restore law and order in Midnapur 'nothing but the attempt of an arrogant Imperialist power to humiliate the whole of India.' These measures

were taken in consequence of the recent murder of Mr Burge, District Magistrate, who was shot down by three assassins on a football ground. He had arrived to take part in the game. He was the third British Magistrate of Midnapur to be assassinated. Jawahirlal's account of the speeches which led to his 'seventh term of imprisonment' is on page 483 of his book.

He wilfully challenged the law and therefore was tried and punished, but he is none the less aggrieved. Some people are never satisfied.

The Mahatma has to reckon with his wild men or 'forward bloc,' and, as I read history, is sometimes needlessly driven into short-sighted concessions. But, afraid of losing his power and anxious to preserve the outward unity of the Congress, he occasionally whips round and defends the new position with all the enthusiasm that he can muster. Perhaps, however, he would in the long run secure his control much better by sticking to his original impulse, for, in fact, he is indispensable to the Congress from his influence over the Hindu masses, and supposed supernatural powers. The masses probably argue: 'Has he not several times been in jail, and yet when at large sat in counsel with Viceroys? Evidently his imprisonment need last no longer than he chooses.' The popular mind, quite unpolitical, for long centuries accustomed to authoritarian rule, gets rather muddled. There is too his genuine sympathy with the low castes, learnt perhaps by his South African experiences, and intercourse with the 'coolies' * there. He busies himself to help their caste-fellows in India by trying to revive cottage industries and endeavouring to procure their admission to temples from which the high castes have hitherto excluded them. Nehru writes: 'To some extent I resented his preoccupation with non-political issues and I never could understand the background of his thoughts.' Clearly, however, it was not entirely non-political. Bose says:

'There is something in him which appeals to the psychology of the Indian people. Born in another country he might have been a complete misfit. What, for instance, would he

* See Andrews' book.

have done in Russia or Germany or Italy? His doctrine of non-violence would have led him to the cross or the mental hospital. In India it is different. His simple life, his goat's milk, his habit of squatting on a floor instead of sitting at a table, his loin-cloth—in fact everything connected with him—has marked him out as one of the eccentric Mahatmas of old. . . . When he talks to them about Swaraj, he does not dilate on the virtues of political autonomy or federation, he reminds them of the glories of Ram-rajya (the Kingdom of King Rama of old). And when he talks of conquering through love and "ahimsa" (non-violence), they are reminded of Buddha and Mahavira and accept him.'

But, of course, such doctrine, combined as it has been with teaching that the existing Government is unholy, must necessarily disturb, especially when transmitted through scores of irresponsible miscellaneous agents. Nor is it appreciated by some of the Mahatma's 'entourage,' who also resent his way of sometimes suddenly taking command of situations. 'The merits of the agreement apart,' said Nehru to him on the morrow of the Irwin-Gandhi pact,

'I told him that his way of springing surprises upon us frightened me; there was something unknown about him, which, in spite of the closest association for fourteen years, I could not understand at all and which filled me with apprehension. He admitted the presence of this unknown element in him and said that he himself could not answer for it or foretell what it would lead to.'

The influence of his talks with Lord Irwin was then powerful within him, to fade later under hostile pressure. He bargained, compromised, and shifted his position, thereby losing all chance of contributing constructive suggestions to the second Round Table Conference in London, and finally falling into renewal of the old struggle, which, firmly and persistently dealt with by Lord Willingdon's Government, petered out in disastrous failure. To the same kind of mistake I attribute his recent sanction of yet one more civil disobedience agitation. Talking informally with Lord Linlithgow on the outbreak of the War he was clearly inclined to back the Government and the cause of the Allies unreservedly* and to wait until the conclusion of the War to present requests from

* See 'R. T. Review, December 1939.

the Congress. Then he went off to the Congress Committee, there yielded to opposition and even championed a line of which he very sensibly disapproved, as various of his utterances have shown. The immediate consequence was the withdrawal of Congressmen from the central Legislative Assembly and from the responsible Governments of eight major provinces, a short-sighted step even from their own narrow point of view. In their 1930-1 campaign, the cost of which had been 'enormous,'* they had been largely financed by big mill-owners. 'In Bombay alone it was estimated that when the (Irwin-Gandhi) peace was signed 50,000 young men went off the payroll.' But where is big business now? We shall see.

By ordering resignations of Ministries the Congress Working Committee proved their inability to read the signs of the times and withdrew a splendid opportunity from those ministries and from their own party. In a lecture delivered in London on April 26, 1940, by Sir Harry Haig, lately Governor of the United Provinces, it is clearly shown that in spite of drawbacks the Congress Ministry in those provinces had in some respects done well, that those Ministers who had policies for the advancement of the provinces had found scope for putting some good ideas into practice, that 'the initial difficulties of a new form of government had to a large extent been overcome.' Education too had been tackled with 'vigour and variety of outlook.' Sir Harry admits such drawbacks as the unprecedented frequency of 'grave communal riots between Muslims and Hindus, the rise in crime and almost continual unrest of labour.' The War period must have accentuated such difficulties and would naturally have drawn the Ministries and the Services, between whom relations have been friendly, closer together, and given the Congress Party a solid opportunity for making good. But their 'high command' put an end, for a time at any rate, to so happy an outcome.

There is no doubt that in the Punjab the Muslim Premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, and his Ministry, which includes Hindu and Sikh representatives, have been a brilliant success. In Bengal too the Ministers, in spite of great difficulties, have apparently done well.

* Robert Bernays' 'Naked Fakir,' p. 185.

Mr Jinnah, the Muslim leader, however, now holds that there are two nations in India and that 'democratic systems, based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England, are definitely not suited to a heterogeneous nation such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of all of India's constitutional ills.' * In December 1916, as President of the Muslim League, at Lucknow, he spoke of 'a new India under the influence of Western education, fast growing to identity of thought, purpose, and outlook.' * But since then he has changed his views.† Now he once more leads Muslim politics. There are, of course, Muslims in the Congress camp, and some 'Ulama' (assemblages of learned men), with special objectives of their own, but they do not represent the bulk of Muslim opinion as it stands to-day.‡ There are other minorities who are inimical to the Congress claim to represent an all-India political point of view; and common sense asserts itself at this moment through the words of Mr Ghulam Bhik, deputy leader of the Muslim group in the Legislative Assembly, spoken on August 8, 1938:

'Dame Britannia, with tearful eyes and throat choked with emotion, says to India—"All right, dear sister, I commend you to the care of God." Exit Britannia! Enter Russia via the Khyber Pass. Enter Japan via the Bay of Bengal, and enter other would-be friends and protectors of India by other routes. Messrs Satyamurti and Abdul Kayum proclaim a red-letter day for India. They mobilise all the violent and non-violent armies of India to fight the invaders—the violent operating on the orthodox military code and the non-violent regiments carrying on a relentless bombardment of the enemy with pacifist pamphlets and messages of love, peace, and fraternity dropped from aeroplanes. The result can easily be imagined. . . . We cannot ignore the stern reality that the safety of India and the British Empire are bound together.'

Mr Jinnah is not the only political Indian leader whose views have changed. After the battle of Flanders Mr Gandhi, in his organ, the 'Harijan,' of June 8, praised

* See 'My Indian Nationalist Movement,' p. 121.

† See his article in the 'Time and Tide' of March 9, 1940.

‡ See article 'Moslem India on Guard,' 'The Times,' March 27, 1940.

the steady morale of the men and women of Britain and France and urged Indians to show similar fortitude. He pointed to the morale of 'the men and women, young and old, who are living in the midst of imminent death, but there is no panic there.' In India there is no cause whatever for panic. 'Britain will die hard and *heroically** if she has to.' We may hear of reverses, but we will not hear of demoralisation. 'Go on,' he says to Indians, 'with your work or business in the usual way. Don't withdraw your deposits or make haste to turn your papers into cash.' After the collapse of France—a collapse which was caused by disunity in councils, by the absence of central guidance and of liaison between her government and her army—he wrote in the 'Harijan' of July 6 a letter addressed 'to every Briton,' couched in terms of extreme defeatism, which, spread abroad among his own countrymen, was bound to exercise a demoralising influence. The Britons were exhorted to lay down their arms, allow 'Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they wanted of their beautiful island. If the enemy would not give them a free passage out of it they would allow themselves, man, woman, and child to be slaughtered but would refuse allegiance to them.' In short, they were to adopt the doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation which had 'not been without considerable success in India.'

Comment is needless. The next stage in this last mental process is seen in the correspondence between the Mahatma and the Viceroy published in 'The Times' of Oct. 1, 1940, from which we gather that the Congress claims to be 'as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher,' but can make no distinction between Nazism 'and the double autocracy that rules India' (the Princes and the British Government), and that an equal footing should be conceded to the war and no-war party so far as each works in a fully non-violent way. This means that the Congress claim licence to make what anti-war speeches they choose. The present outbreak of civil disobedience is the result of this claim which seems likely to commend itself to no one but Congress fanatics and to traitors to the great cause at stake, the

* My italics.

cause of humanity throughout the world. Certainly it cannot commend itself to 'big business,' who must be aware of the magnificent opportunity now opened to India by the needs of the Army in Africa and the Middle East and by the Conference now going on at Delhi, an occasion which, if taken by the hand, will necessarily advance the whole position of India, political, financial, and commercial, in the post-War world.

Lord Linlithgow has seen this very clearly and has been doing his utmost for the mobilisation of India's great resources. He has met with eager response from India; and the delegates of all British governments east of Suez are now consulting at Delhi on methods for improving industrial and economic cooperation. Political phrases and shibboleths sound strangely when India and Britain are fighting together in the forefront of a battle for the future of humanity.

Let us all look onwards a little, too. In Europe we shall want a paramount organisation that to some extent will order the continent in peace. India is really a sub-continent inhabited by divers races. She has such a paramount authority. But we are told that the problem is how soonest to get rid of it! Where is the substitute?

H. VERNEY LOVETT.

Art. 3.—AND AFTER?

1. *The New World Order*. By H. G. Wells. Secker and Warburg.
2. *Reports from the Select Committee on National Expenditure*. H.M. Stationery Office. 113, 120, etc. 1940.
3. *Exit Prussia: A Plan for Europe*. By Edgar Stern-Rubarth. Duckworth, 1940.
4. *Germany: Jekyll and Hyde*. By Sebastian Haffner. Secker and Warburg, 1940.
5. *Germany the Aggressor*. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Chambers, 1940.
6. *Road to Disaster*. By Ernest Klein. Allen and Unwin, 1940.
7. *The Totalitarian Enemy*. By F. Borkenau. Faber and Faber, 1940.

'New world or nothing. We have to make a new world for ourselves or we shall suffer and perish amidst the downfall of the decaying old.' Those words were addressed to the Royal Institution by Mr Wells in November 1936. Are they congruous with the situation as it faces us in November 1940? The storm rages with unabated fury: destruction rains down upon great cities; the enemy is making a determined effort not merely to frustrate our military preparations but to strike terror into the hearts of our citizens by ruthless attacks upon peaceful folk in town and country, sparing neither old nor young, murdering alike the bedridden and the sick in homes and hospitals and helpless children in our streets.

Yet in the midst of all this we hear from many quarters echoes of Mr Wells's words. We are bidden to look forward to the time of post-war reconstruction; not merely to look forward but to plan; not merely to plan, but to start at once upon the task of rebuilding a shattered world. A short time ago one of the most distinguished soldiers of the last war, General Sir Hubert Gough, indited such an adjuration: 'Great developments are in process of growth. Opinions on the future order are shaping themselves. Now is the time for fruitful deliberation and action' (10.x.40). Another of the many correspondents of 'The Times' wrote: 'We are faced with

nothing less than eventual reorganisation of our whole economic system' (17.x.40). 'The Times' itself insists that we ought to focus our propaganda upon this reconstructive programme, and assure 'the distracted peoples of Europe' that a British victory will bring prompt relief to a 'prostrate and devastated Europe.' Social and economic reconstruction at home is, indeed, intimately connected, in some minds, with the solution of the international problem. 'It may well be,' to continue the quotation from 'The Times,' 'that the right approach to the problem of international reconstruction will be through the avenue of reconstruction at home,' nor should we 'wait for the end of the war to make a beginning on this latter task.' With even greater emphasis it wrote, some months earlier: 'It has become a truism to say that we cannot put the European house in order unless we put our own house in order too. The streams of social and international policy have intermingled.'

'The Times' undeniably represents a considerable body of opinion. From many quarters evidence accumulates that there is growing impatience to learn the views of the Government in regard to post-war reconstruction, foreign and domestic. But such impatience is by no means universal: in the multitude of counsellors there is, if not wisdom, at least variety. Some counsel us to plan at present only for the future of our own people. Others are more particularly concerned about a New Order for Europe, if not for the world. Others, as we have seen, regard the two tasks as interdependent, though not necessarily concurrent in execution. Nor must we assume that this analysis is exhaustive. On the contrary there are some, and among them not the least prudent and experienced, who hold that it is certainly inopportune and may be mischievous to make plans dependent for their successful application upon circumstances which no one can at present foresee. This objection applies more particularly, though not exclusively, to plans for the reconstruction of the European polity; it holds of official in greater degree than of unofficial planning, it is directed rather against the premature discussion and disclosure of schemes for reconstruction than against their quiet preparation.

To all demands made in Parliament for a more precise

definition of 'War Aims' the Prime Minister has opposed a firm and consistent negative:

'I don't think anyone has the opinion that we are fighting this war merely to maintain the *status quo*. We are, among other things, fighting it in order to survive. When our capacity to do that is more generally recognised throughout the world . . . then we shall be in a good position to take a further view of what we shall do with the victory when it is won.'

When incautiously pressed to assure our friends that 'we are ready to lead the fight for the better world that we all want,' Mr Churchill replied: 'I think there is great danger in making statements not of a very general character on this subject.'

Mr Churchill is surely right. At the outbreak of the war the issue was stated by His Majesty the King in terms which in clarity and directness left nothing to be desired:

'We are called upon with our allies to meet the challenge of a principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any civilised order in the world. It is the principle which permits a State in the selfish pursuit of power to disregard its treaties and its solemn pledges; which sanctions the use of force or threat of force against the sovereignty and independence of other States. Such a principle, stripped of all disguise, is surely the mere primitive doctrine that might is right; and if this principle were established throughout the world the freedom of our own country and of the whole British Commonwealth of Nations would be in danger. But far more than this—the peoples of the world would be in the bondage of fear and all hopes of settled peace and of the security of justice and liberty among nations would be ended.'

Mr Neville Chamberlain put the same thoughts into one sentence that will be historic: 'It is evil things that we shall be fighting against, brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression, and persecution.' Commentary and elaboration are superfluous. This is no fight for Empire or territory, for commercial advantages or political ascendancy. 'It is,' as Edmund Burke said in 1790, 'with an armed doctrine that we are at war'—the doctrine that might is right.

To issue official statements of a less general character, to formulate in detail our war aims, might well be embarrassing to those who may be responsible for the

conclusion of peace ; they can hardly fail to be, at the present juncture, misleading and mischievous.

To obtain assent to these propositions does not, however, end the matter. Most reasonable people would approve Mr Churchill's reticence in respect of official pronouncements, and would cordially support his refusal to be 'drawn' by irresponsible interrogation in Parliament. But that need not discourage private deliberation and unofficial discussion.

'We can no more afford,' as 'The Times' recently observed,

'to be hidebound in our economic than in our military thinking. The advent of mass production, the increase by scientific invention of the productivity of labour, the acceleration of communications, the elimination of free competition by the creation of vast monopolies and combinations often international in their scope— . . . These changes may well call for readjustments in our established conventions as drastic as those which were demanded in war by the invention of tanks and aeroplanes.'

That is so true as to be almost a truism : and if active brains are at work on possible solutions of these difficult problems it is all to the good. It is equally reassuring to learn (though not, as far as I know, on official information) that various Departments are engaged on the elaboration of schemes for making the transition from war to peace conditions as little dislocating as possible, and that a Cabinet sub-committee has been appointed to coordinate the Departmental schemes. Dislocation there is bound to be and history, remote and recent, warns us that the dislocation is apt to drive the sufferers to despair, if not to violence.

To violence the sufferers were driven in the years that immediately followed on Waterloo. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had dragged on for a quarter of a century. Between 1792 and 1815 a new England had come into being. The wars were coincident with changes in industry and agriculture that had transformed the whole face of the country. England which had for centuries been a granary and a sheepfold suddenly became the workshop of the world. A nation of farmers dispersed in villages gave place to a nation of mill hands concentrated in new industrial cities, of miners, and ship-builders. English cottons and woollens were carried oversea

in our own ships. London displaced Frankfort and Amsterdam, as they had previously displaced Venice, as the centre of world-banking.

In 1815 the whole of the new structure suddenly crashed. The world no longer bought our goods; our ships lay idle; the labour market was congested; artisans and labourers were starving; banks stopped payment; currency fluctuations played havoc with prices; landlords and farmers, merchants and manufacturers were involved in a common ruin. 'The citizens have lost all their feelings of pride and richness and flourishing fatness; trade is gone, contracts are gone, paper credit is gone, and there is nothing but stoppage, retrenchments, and bankruptcy.' So Wellesley-Pole, the Master of the Mint, wrote to Charles Bagot, in 1816. Distress led to disorder: starving men do not stop to reason. Because work was scarce the new machinery was smashed by the Luddites. Because bread was at famine prices crazy rioters set corn ricks ablaze.

Some of these phenomena—happily not all—reappeared a century later. Mr Lloyd George, foreseeing trouble, had adjured his countrymen not to 'demobilise the spirit of patriotism.' 'The losses of this war will take a deal of repairing. . . . The nations have bled at every vein, and this restlessness which you get everywhere to-day is the fever of anæmia.' Such was the tenor of a great speech on the Peace Treaty (July 3, 1919). The warning was unheeded. The repose so badly needed was disturbed, recuperation was delayed by an orgy of dissipation, of reckless and ostentatious spending by the new rich, of vulgar and noisy pleasure-seeking by all classes. The boomlet that followed the Armistice quickly passed; trade slackened, and for the greater part of two decades the labour exchanges were thronged with applicants for work. There was, indeed, no such widespread suffering as drove men, a century earlier, to smash machinery and burn ricks, but the existence of distressed areas testified to grave dislocation in industry. Yet lavish expenditure on the social services, while mitigating hardships, failed to exorcise among the wage-earners the spirit of restlessness which culminated in the General Strike. Nor was the reason far to seek. The stoppages which, in one industry after another, marked

the period 1919-1925 were not due, as of old, to disputes about wages, hours, and conditions of labour. Among certain sections, if not the bulk of the wage-earners, these things were subsidiary to much wider political ambitions. 'Direct action' was to be the means of transferring the ownership and control of the mines and the railways to those engaged in those industries. The ignominious collapse of the General Strike cleared the air, and between 1925 and 1939 the situation greatly improved.

It is ardently hoped that to this improvement there will be no setback when at the close of the present conflict the 'Cease Fire' sounds. All that careful thought and wise planning can do to avert a recurrence of the post-War phenomena of 1815 or 1919 should be done. Nevertheless, a great deal of current talk and writing about the New Heaven and the New Earth that are to be revealed directly the clouds of war are dissipated, is not merely mischievous but dangerous and cruel. That in the spiritual sphere there may come, as a result of the cleansing fires of war, a real rebirth, is the prayer of all good men. But to excite hopes of a material millennium that will ensue upon the conclusion of peace is sheer mockery and delusion.

All the grandiose schemes adumbrated by enthusiastic reconstructionists cannot materialise without ample supplies of money.

Where is it to come from? Nobody will again be deluded by the expectation that Germany will be made to pay for the war. On the contrary it would appear, in some quarters, to be contemplated that it will be the task of this country to succour a 'devastated, uprooted, famine-ridden Europe. The first step towards the creation of a new European order will be to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to house the homeless. No frontiers, no national rivalries can be allowed to impede this essential task.'

Is it impertinent to ask who is to provide the funds for this beneficent work? Careful search reveals no attempt to consider, much less to answer, this question. Yet no one who has made any study of the problems of public finance can underrate the gravity of the present situation. Although we have been at war for little more than a year taxation has already reached a level far

above the highest in the last war. The taxpayer is adjured to subscribe to loans but at the same time is warned that he must be prepared for still higher taxes. Debt is being piled up at an appalling pace. Though war expenditure already exceeds £9,000,000 a day, the only regret expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is that it is not higher still. Thanks mainly to the enthusiasm, indefatigable industry, and organising skill of Sir Robert Kindersley the response to the appeal for voluntary saving has been magnificent. Voluntary gifts for the purchase of war-planes pour in from all quarters of the Empire. Subscriptions to Lord Mayor's Funds for this and that are on an amazingly generous scale. All this is truly encouraging. But to one who has spent long hours in the Sisyphean labour of curbing national expenditure it seems lamentable that hardly a word is said on this aspect of the problem. Has the Treasury watch-dog been doped? The House of Commons gives the Government a blank cheque for £1,000 millions after a few minutes of perfunctory discussion. Is it not the plain duty of a House representing the taxpayer to insist that, even in war-time, the taxpayer shall get full value for every penny extracted from his pockets? Lord Addison, with the fine disregard for sordid considerations of finance characteristic of his Party, sneered the other day at the 'voluminous self satisfaction' and 'pompous authority' of 'the City,' and declared that something said by a popular broadcaster made him think 'of the horrible experiences of 1921 and 1922—of the Economy Crusade, of the Geddes' Axe, and of other similar desolating stunts.' Is it certain that those are the 'stunts' that will prove most desolating to-morrow? When we come to grips with the task of reconditioning and reconstructing our own island, to say nothing of Europe, and find the work held up by an empty Treasury, may not the demand for another Geddes' Axe be irresistible? Some of the lessons taught by 1914-1918 have been learnt: some errors have been avoided. Profiteers can hardly emerge from an E.P.D. of 100 per cent. But has not that rate of duty removed a powerful incentive to economy in production? What will it profit the State to save one million on 'profits' if it loses ten millions in wages? The case is, of course, hypothetical, but it is a legitimate

question, and it is only partially answered by the fine response to the appeal for voluntary saving. But the response, though fine, is confessedly insufficient. Neither taxes nor loans are filling up the widening gap between revenue and expenditure. The one encouraging feature in the situation is that, by general consent, inflation has thus far been avoided. But the consumer has been saved from that disaster at immense cost to the State. How long can the State afford to sustain these efforts? Shall we not be driven to the adoption of Mr Keynes's alternative suggestion of deferred pay, or, in other words, compulsory saving? An attempt to answer such questions would demand a special article. The present survey, more general in character, requires that attention be now given to another aspect of the matter.

Of all the problems that will demand solution after the war the most inexorable is that of the future of Germany. It is Germany that has made this war: it is on Germany that the future peace of Europe will depend. True that it is against a particular doctrine governing international relations that we are fighting. But it is with weapons forged in Germany that this 'armed doctrine' is sustained. Is that doctrine inherent in the present Polity of Germany? If so, the doctrine will be discredited only when the existing Polity is overthrown. But if 'Hitlerism' is destroyed what is to take its place?

These are questions which can be answered by Germans far more safely and far more convincingly than by Englishmen. To certain answers given by Germans I propose, accordingly, to draw attention.

No one can fail to be impressed by the degree of unanimity revealed in Herr Klein's 'Road to Disaster,' Dr Stern-Rubarth's 'Exit Prussia,' and Dr Sebastian Haffner's 'Germany: Jekyll and Hyde.' Herr Klein is an Austrian by birth, a journalist by profession, who has lived and worked in Berlin. Dr Stern-Rubarth describes himself as 'European by birth, upbringing and career, loving the country of Germany, adoring the beauty and spirit of France, feeling at home with the soul of Britain,' and a former German patriot turned into an alien, a refugee from, and an enemy of, a so-called German Government. Dr Haffner is described by his publishers

as 'an "Aryan" German under forty years of age, who has lived all his life in Germany. He was trained as a lawyer and worked for six years under the Nazi regime.' Though written from different angles, the books of these three authors are remarkably convergent in diagnosis though by no means unanimous as regards prescriptions. Dr Haffner refuses to accept the prevailing view that Nazism is specifically Prussian rather than German. 'As a State,' he writes, 'Prussia is no more guilty than any other. Neither are the Prussians . . . more guilty than any other Germans (Berlin is in fact one of the cities with the highest percentage of disloyal and anti-Nazi Germans).' It follows that it is not the Prussians who should be singled out for punishment. 'The guilty are the Nazis . . . and it is they who must pay the inexorable penalty, whether they are Bavarians, Prussians, or Saxons.'

Dr Klein takes a very different view of Nazism. 'Hitlerism,' he holds, 'is in essence nothing but a resurrection of the old Prussian Pan-Germanism which had the subjugation of foreign peoples in its programme.' His views may be coloured by Austrian sympathies, but to at least one student of German history they seem to accord more closely with the facts than Dr Haffner's. Moreover, they undoubtedly afford a more hopeful basis for the future reorganisation of Germany. It is clear gain if we can localise the disease, and limit the area of infection.

The title of Dr Stern-Rubarth's book sufficiently indicates that he goes, in respect of Prussia, far beyond either of his compatriots. 'Germany,' he writes, 'became aggressive only by and under her Prussian domination. . . . She was herself a victim as well as a tool of Prussian megalomania.' What, then, is the remedy he prescribes? It is the exclusion of Prussia from Germany. He does not, indeed, wish to see Prussia 'mutilated,' but 'resuscitated' and 'liberated.' 'The only logical procedure' in order to avoid the humiliation or dismemberment of Germany would be, he writes,

'the liberation of Prussia from the Reich, by establishing an independent and homogeneous Prussia outside of the Reich . . . approximately on the lines of Frederick's inheritance, this "liberated" Prussia would be bordered by the Baltic on the north, the river Elbe up to the Saxon frontier on the west, by a restored Czechoslovakia on the south, and by Poland on the east.'

The new Prussia would no longer dominate Germany, but, with an area of some 70,000 square miles, with 20,000,000 inhabitants, with important cities and great ports on the Baltic, with a great system of waterways at her disposal, and ample economic resources, she would be a strong and independent, self-respecting and respected Power. The German Reich, relieved of the incubus of Prussia, but including Austria, would still have 55 million inhabitants and covering an area of roughly 150,000 square miles. With its capital at Vienna, or perhaps at Frankfort-on-Main ('the coronation town of the Emperors of yore'), the German Reich would recover its historical boundaries, including 'the German area of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Free City of Lübeck, thereby giving it north of the Prussian sea-border the two large Baltic ports Kiel and Lübeck.' To the resurrection of the twenty-five States confederated in the Hohenzollern Reich Dr Stern-Rubarth is opposed. He would prefer to refashion Germany on a simpler pattern by reducing 'a number of often unorganic, purely dynastic structures . . . to some eight or nine larger units, in themselves organic and with historical foundations.' For such a reorganisation there may, perhaps, be some historical justification: but the appeal to history is rather remote, and it is doubtful whether the German of to-day would wax enthusiastic over the memory of a Frisia, a Suabia, or a Franconia.

Better, because simpler and less artificial, and less disturbing than Dr. Stern-Rubarth's is the scheme tentatively suggested by Dr Haffner. Austria, cured by the Nazis of its 'Anschluss-mania,' would recover its independence, but would still present a problem which Dr Haffner makes no attempt to solve. The proverbial saying that if the Hapsburg Empire did not exist it would be necessary to invent it comes irresistibly to mind to-day. That Empire was for long centuries not 'ramshackle' but a pillar of the European polity. Whether or no an Austro-Hungarian monarchy be revived, certain it is that without a powerful State on the Danube stability can never be restored in Central Europe. Prussia, under Dr Haffner's scheme, would remain as much a State of Germany as Bavaria—no less but no more, and would be reduced to the limits of 1770, thus losing her share of

Poland, and the accretions in Western and Northern Germany which she obtained in 1814 and 1866. Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg would be simply set up again under their former dynasties, and other units of the new Germany would be formed by the Kingdom of Saxony, to which Thuringia might be joined, and by a region described by Dr Haffner as 'Lower Saxony.' The latter would embrace in some sort of federal union the old Kingdom of Hanover (which, it is believed, would welcome the restoration of its monarchy), as well as the Free Hanseatic Republics, and the Grand Duchies of Oldenburg, Lippe, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Schleswig-Holstein. The whole of this region has, it is claimed, a cultural and commercial individuality of its own quite distinct from that of its Western and Eastern German neighbours. There remains the Rhineland, including Rhenish Prussia, the old 'Priest-Street' with its archiepiscopal Electorates, and the great industrial district of the Ruhr and the Saar. This region Dr Haffner, while not ignoring the failure of Napoleon's 'Westphalia' and Poincaré's 'Rhineland Republic,' would set up as a 'sluice between France and Germany, to reconcile the two, and in the rôle of middle-man, acquire the virtues of both.' It would supply also the missing link (especially if it could include the Palatinate) between the Low Countries and Switzerland. It is an attractive vision, seen not for the first time by Dr Haffner, but recalling the ancient Lotharingia, the portion obtained in the tripartite division of Charlemagne's Empire (under the Treaty of Verdun A.D. 843) by his eldest grandson; recalling also the ambition of Charles the Bold of Burgundy and, in part, recalling the scheme devised by Lord Castlereagh, for a strong barrier kingdom between France and Germany.

To what purpose, it may be asked, this recital of schemes for the post-war reorganisation of Germany? They are purely speculative, and rather wild at that. True; but their significance arises from the fact that they are the speculations not of Englishmen, but of Germans, approaching the problem from different angles, but concurrently reaching the conclusion that there can be no permanent peace in Europe and no reposeful settlement in Germany, so long as the Nazi Reich, or even

the Hohenzollern Reich, is permitted to survive. This is no dismemberment imposed by a victorious enemy upon a humiliated Germany. These are alternative plans drawn by German architects, to be executed by German craftsmen, determined to raze to the ground the grandiose edifice erected by Prussian engineers, and, on the ground thus cleared, rebuild a German nation, if not a German Empire, imbued with the spirit of true Teutonic culture, and finding its appropriate capital neither at Berlin nor at Vienna but at Weimar—the Weimar not of an unworkable Parliamentary Constitution, but the spiritual home of the real Germany.

To the three works analysed above Dr Borkenau supplies a valuable postscript. He is concerned with sociological and economic not with political reconstruction. He, like others referred to in the opening paragraphs of this article, is convinced that the present war will bring about a 'great deal of economic collectivism' and 'a certain amount of administrative centralisation, but is hopeful that, thanks to the national unity realised in war, the inevitable changes may be accomplished without serious social upheavals by 'compromise and cooperation' between all classes. Thus England having successfully played her traditional rôle as the Saviour of Europe, having broken Germany's 'power of aggression' and annihilated the 'world revolutionary impulses whose strongest focus at present lies in Berlin,' will at the same time 'adopt and adapt all that is valuable in the totalitarian revolution.'

Be these things as they may, there is a consensus of opinion that neither for a socially reconstructed England, nor for any other national State, can there be any security in the future without some modification of the existing system based upon the unrestricted sovereignty of completely independent States. But the problems involved in any scheme of international federalism are too numerous and intricate for discussion in a postscript. It must suffice to have indicated that thoughtful minds and busy pens are already at work on the problems confronting ourselves and others in the sphere of domestic reconstruction.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

Art. 4.—MEMORY IN BIRDS AND BEASTS.

OF all faculties that animals possess in common with mankind, memory is certainly the most human-like in its operation, the reason being that the latter involves a purely mental process, supplementary in the creature's case and not essential for the purposes of its existence. Its employment also is most apparent among birds and beasts that have attained a high standard of intelligence, and usually denotes originality, the more so since, as already stated, it is seldom necessary to the animal's economy.

The latter at first glance might appear to be a somewhat too comprehensive statement upon the assumption that wild creatures failing to use a faculty so important in human affairs could not hold their own in a world the governing forces of which are eminently competitive. Here, however, one is immediately confronted with the inevitable distinction which separates the wild kingdom from that of mankind, the intellectual from the purely natural or primitive. In this case, indeed, the disparity is both interesting and curious, for whereas the universal loss of memory—without which there could be no knowledge—would shatter the entire fabric of civilisation, its employment upon an extensive scale would shatter the whole scheme of wild life. The migrant would never return to a land where it had encountered discomfort or persecution. Races freely preyed upon by others would cultivate tactics for self-preservation. Man's supremacy would cease and the economic system would be revolutionised in consequence.

Upon the whole it is probably safe to regard memory as an independent or auxiliary factor in Nature, developed by individuals, but unimportant in the broader sense and seldom influencing general procedure. It figures as a subconscious record of experience, and since experience is mainly useful in determining future conduct, it would be of little value to creatures unaddicted to if not incapable of retrospect. That direct association leaves some impression there can be no doubt. For example, wood-pigeons or wild fowl which have been frequently fired at from a certain hide soon learn to avoid the spot, and the

fowler must change his tactics repeatedly to achieve continued success. In such instances, however, it seems to be rather a matter of breaking a habit or strong inclination than of consciously remembering, since at first the birds continue to frequent the danger zone at the very time when actual memory should be most vivid. Many shots may be fired within a day at the same flock without any change of position. The following day the birds may be wilder, the next unapproachable, except from a new point where the story will be repeated, the wariness of the birds gradually increasing as the realisation of danger from various sources penetrates their minds. There is a subtle distinction, however, between the forming of an impression and the conscious exercise of memory, the difficulty lying in determining the line of demarcation.

Again, the increasing wildness of birds may not even be the outcome of experience, but merely the development of a natural characteristic. When partridges become elusive in October and November one assumes that disaster has invested them with a mortal terror of the guns. This may be true. But it will also be found that coveys at which no shot has been fired are equally wild, having grown strong upon the wing and acquired the instinct for self-preservation with which they are so freely endowed. Upon the same principle, when partridges lie close in terror of the artificial kite flown above them, it does not necessarily follow that they have ever suffered from the swoop of hawk or falcon, the fear which glues the cowering covey to the ground being far older than any emotion that individual adventure could inspire. It is an apt example of pure instinct in operation, and, possibly, the simplest definition of instinct would be 'inherited memory,' quite apart from the incidental impressions with which it might be supplemented.

Very similar is the case of the fox-cub, conventionally supposed to acquire a wholesome terror of big woods or gorse-brakes on account of having been hunted there in autumn. According to popular contention, the cub remembers the danger incurred in the place, and when, a month or two later, the same situation arises he immediately seeks refuge as far away as possible. It should be superfluous to remark that if memory indeed prompted the fox's reactions they would be precisely the same as

those by means of which he preserved his brush upon previous occasions. Actually the case of the November fox is synonymous with that of the early-winter partridge. Each has grown older and stronger; the range of each has widened. The real purpose of cub-hunting is to disperse litters which, if undisturbed, continue to seek and find safety in numbers.

In West-country vernacular the adjective 'old' denotes wisdom—a quaint assumption of the principle that living is learning. I have heard a veteran sportsman declare that he would not mind being a hunted creature, always provided that he could retain his present knowledge, with the aid of which he could neither be shot nor caught. Denied that privilege, the animal is always at a disadvantage when it becomes a test of wits, since man's memory embraces every contingency. The fox remembers his distant earth and stakes everything to get there, only to find that his enemies have also remembered—and stopped it. The rabbit, at the ferret's approach, thinks of his bolt-hole, that emergency exit of proved worth. The rustic, waiting outside, has turned memory to more profitable account by netting the hole in anticipation. When competing with wild life, man also benefits from the experience of *contemporaries*, this being directly communicable, and therefore possessing a decided advantage over the gradual operation of instinct.

It is worthy of note that even as a human being requires frequent aid to memory, that, too, is the first faculty to fail a wild creature in a crisis. This is particularly true when the animal needs to remember something outside its normal routine. When a rabbit makes a hole through wire or a bird through fruit-netting, it has no difficulty in finding the spot whenever entrance is desired, and exit by the same means is equally simple at its own leisure and pleasure. Should necessity for haste arise, however, the situation is very different. If placed in its strictly natural setting, the rabbit never forgets the whereabouts of its burrow or the bird its cover. When inside the artificial barrier and confronted with the sudden apparition of a wrathful gardener, the *last* thing that the little furred or feathered thief can remember is the devious route by which it obtained admission, and capture follows as a matter of course.

And here a curious point should be emphasised, of interest upon more than one account. The terror of the captured bird is so pitiable that one wonders while extricating it whether it will survive the shock—often as fatal as actual injury. It retires when released in a flurry of detached feathers and clears the garden wall as if resolved to forswear all connection with such institutions. But, alas, an hour later it is again inside the net, having apparently remembered nothing but that which it might with advantage have forgotten—the way to commit larceny! One could scarcely desire a more perfect example of animal mentality, illustrating, as it does, the transient character of fear, together with the worthlessness or value of memory, according to its application.

Interesting, too, was the case of a thrush which, through an odd sequence of events, contrived to build its nest under a currant net. Having completed its clutch before being discovered, the bird was allowed to remain and rear its brood, never experiencing any difficulty in its comings and goings. The young birds completed the ruin of the already denuded crop, and since the net formed, as it were, the natural foreground of their early lives, they avoided entanglement as easily as hedgerow fledglings negotiate the thorns which surround them.

Returning to the failure of memory to act as a deterrent, this is probably attributable to the bird's habit of living so literally in the present. It is a creature of impulse, its one idea being to gratify the impulse of the moment without reference to past or future; and even as the most recent experiences or dangers—usually synonymous in bird life—quickly fade from its mind, so, upon the same principle, it makes no provision for a time of need, having, indeed, 'neither storehouse nor barn.'

Even the migration movement, being obviously independent of experience, can only be regarded as an impulse or urge, shared with insects, and as irresistible as the slow withdrawal of the sun's warmth which the migrant must follow. When the Earth on its annual course reverses the gravitation, however, one likes to believe that our own birds recall to mind their summer homes of last year, the gardens, fields, and moorlands where their

arrival is anticipated with a pleasure which one hopes is not entirely confined to the observer when the little travellers again take possession of their old haunts. With the indubitable return of the individual to its own place, however, our actual knowledge ends, and in view of the bird's psychological limitations, common sense should provide the safest clue to its mental reactions.

The magnetism of its native land, so strong in a bird even if unconsciously obeyed, is not perhaps as remarkable as it may appear at first glance. It is shared in varying degree with most creatures, not excepting Man. The exile or the individual who through force of circumstances or from choice lives upon an alien soil is seldom entirely free from some form of nostalgia, the difference being that he does not possess the bird's ready means of returning, and unaided by man-made facilities, would certainly neither know nor find the way. It is a strange thought that the bird, which does not analyse the desire or even remember in the ordinary interpretation of the word, should still possess the ability to gratify it. Limitations and compensations are curiously mingled in all forms of life.

While recognising these limitations, there can be no doubt about the returned migrant's remarkable memory, both for locality and detail. Without it, for example, the wheatear might scour the wide moorlands in vain for the practically invisible hole under the rock which so closely resembles a thousand others on the hillside that the most observant human being could never find it again without marking the spot. True, the wild creature's ability to locate its own nesting tree or hole is at all times astonishing, and must involve the employment of more than one sense. In the case of a migratory bird returning to an obscure nesting-site, however, a measure of recollection obviously plays some part, or the choice would never fall upon the identical spot.

In all probability this is really a case of memory prompted by association. Either in its southern home or upon the return journey it is unlikely that the bird bestows a thought upon the little nesting site under the distant boulder. When reaching its own locality, however, the area to which it is drawn by influences undefined and probably indefinable, old chords are struck by every

feature of the familiar landscape, and even as a line recalls a long-forgotten verse so old procedure is adopted mechanically, and, link by link, the chain is reformed.

It is difficult to discriminate between the promptings of association and actual memory, if indeed any distinction exists. Certainly, it might be claimed that while one is a matter of suggestion the other necessitates a detached process; but, even so, the difference amounts to hair-splitting, one train of thought being consequent upon another. The effect is identical whether produced by physical or mental operation, and here another curious point arises. Seton, when portraying the mentality of a bear, remarked that, while forgetful of detail, his memory for smells was infallible. That is consistent with animal nature, but interesting because it also applies in some measure to human beings. Nothing stirs memory more readily than a scent which, with its almost incredible power of association, revives old scenes and emotions more poignantly than the most realistic photograph or intimate talk of bygone events. While in the animal's case this is only natural, its nose being its principal guide in all matters, it provides food for thought that the sense upon which Man is least dependent should have so stimulating an effect upon his most essential faculty. Is it yet another link with the primitive still lingering not so far below his polished but artificial exterior?

The force of association may function, of course, through any physical medium. The requickening of the mating instinct and consequent desire to build a nest might inspire recollections of the old home and its precise whereabouts, and the question often arises as to the part that memory plays in nidification. The obvious answer is 'very little.' Unlike the artificial accomplishments of performing animals acquired through tuition, the bird or hibernating beast constructs its nest as automatically as the butterfly flies, for its technique drawing once again upon those hidden stores of knowledge which require no exponent. And yet each bird, apart from generalities common to a species, possesses a style of its own, either inherited or acquired. One discovers this when studying individuals year after year. It applies to the choice of both site and material, and this cannot be merely a matter of available supply, methods differing in the same locality.

Admittedly each conforms to its own habitual idea of a nest, but it bears its specialised pattern in mind and under no circumstances departs from it.

I have known a spotted flycatcher which always built so shallow a cup that the young regularly toppled out. A pair of swans nesting on an estuary lost their eggs during a high tide. They rebuilt upon the same spot and were equally unfortunate, having either forgotten their first loss or lacking ability to realise the cause. The latter supposition is most probable in such cases, together with the force of impulses too inbred to be upset by individual experience. The raven who returns every spring to an eyrie from which the eggs are as regularly removed, or the rook annually rearing its young to be shot over the same trees, is not necessarily as foolish as appearances warrant. It may indeed have forgotten the tragedy, but the excessive caution and anxiety which old pairs display at the approach of a possible enemy rather suggest painful recollections. It is a case of conflicting impulses and emotions, the older and more deeply rooted prevailing. Both raven and rook are intelligent birds, the former indeed being highly individualised, but each is eminently conservative. It is their custom never to forsake a breeding-place when once firmly established, and racial habit is more immutable than original impression. Conviction against inclination is seldom permanent, and even as strong-mindedness is required of the man who can abandon all inculcated principle, so the bird must be very remarkable when, lacking the aid of logic, it departs from a natural law.

It is noteworthy that a bird's procedure in this respect is governed by suitability of site rather than the ultimate fate of its brood. When trees become unsafe through age, rooks forsake them. When a raven's nest is blown down from a weather-worn precipice it is seldom rebuilt. The conclusion reached is remembered and acted upon, and few birds forget or overlook interference with an actual nest. For several years a wren used a little winter dormitory which it had erected in the doorway of my old woodshed. Originally a 'cock nest,' it eventually served to rear a brood, after which it was taken over as a winter residence, frequently repaired with scrupulous care, and occupied every night by the one little bird.

At last, by mischance, the front of the nest was scratched by a branch carried through the doorway, a few scraps of material being dislodged. The damage was far slighter than that effected by a week of regular wear and tear upon the part of the owner, and as often repaired, presumably without complaint, the responsibility being his own. This outrage, however, the occupier could not forgive. His objurgations, delivered from the top of an adjoining cob wall, were both vociferous and emphatic, and after a closer inspection of the trespass committed, he served his notice to quit. Since his residence there had become an institution, I hoped the affair would blow over like one or two previous misunderstandings, such as frights and collisions. Reconsideration seemed to be out of the question, however. It was a clear case for removal, another nest appearing in a summer-house, where the little autocrat enjoyed freedom from disturbance but was far less interesting.

Necessity does not always quicken recollection in human affairs. On the contrary, one forgets much when most anxious to remember. Animals appear to be more fortunate in this respect, and hunger is an unfailing reminder of means wherewith to satisfy it. Throughout the season of plenty it may be safely assumed that wild birds bestow no thought upon the garden table or window-ledge which provided supplies during hard times. When snow comes again, however, or—more significant—before a fall, interest in that window-sill revives, the birds arriving to survey its possibilities even though no food has been displayed. Thus, again, memory is requisitioned to meet a need which does not arise in the normal routine of the birds' lives.

Attached to this house is a tame robin, doubtless a descendant of the somewhat famous little bird whose life and death story has been related elsewhere. Like his attractive little ancestor, he disappears at the approach of spring, to undertake domestic duties which would prove, one might have thought, sufficiently engrossing to banish past trivialities from his mind. But no sooner are family cares discharged than the robin proceeds to pick up old threads precisely where he dropped them, presenting himself at the same window, watching his opportunity from the same hole in the laurels, perching

on the same post, responding to the same call, feeding from the same hand, and acting in every way as though no interlude had occurred. One might attribute this and similar instances to mere re-assertion of habit, but since the habit is acquired and not natural its resumption must involve a mental process apart from the purely mechanical influences which prompt instinctive action.

Almost invariably it is in departure from custom that memory is employed. Had the robin after nesting-time merely resumed the life of ordinary robins, or had the birds described in the last paragraph required no emergency rations, no thought would have been necessary other than for the prowling cat or the possible swoop of a sparrowhawk from the neighbouring spinneys. And even as special circumstances necessitate the special exercise of memory, so certain animals habitually employ it more than others, particularly carnivorous birds and beasts, which utilise experience as well as keen senses in their war upon other creatures.

Rapacious animals possess a notable advantage in this respect, for whereas a mistake upon the part of the hunted is usually fatal, the hunter learns from either success or failure. In the world of sport the effect may be two-edged, appreciation of an old dog's cleverness being frequently qualified by the complaint that he knows too much. The aged and lethargic spaniel, aware that the rabbit will probably emerge from a certain runway, intercepts it there—to the exasperation of the man with the gun. Wild dogs know that hunted antelope cross a defile at a favourite point and lie in wait accordingly, these and many similar instances illustrating the value of experience.

The rapacious animal is also frequently under the necessity of returning to his kill which he stores, if possible, and, contrary to convention, does *not* forget the place. It has been claimed that tame ravens show more intelligence than dogs, both hiding unsavoury morsels, the former remembering, the latter forgetting. Squirrels are frequently accused of a similar failing, but one would venture to suggest that neither bird nor beast forgets the whereabouts of a hidden store. It may not be used, but that in no way proves that it has been overlooked by the owner. It is more likely—particularly in the case

of a dog—that he had no occasion to use it. I have never known a dog unable to locate a buried bone. So far as personal observation has served, he goes directly to the spot with astonishing accuracy, the only examples of forgetfulness being when he fails to remember that he has already removed the delicacy. That frequently happens, the basic law that one cannot both eat and retain one's cake never having clearly penetrated the canine mind. The dog who has just seen his master go out still expects to find him in the customary chair. That is memory opposed to habit, and habit usually prevails.

When a carnivorous beast such as a leopard fails to return to the carcase which he has lodged in a crotch, it probably means that he has chanced upon and killed fresher meat. When the squirrel neglects part of his hoard, he has merely stored more than he requires, after the fashion of many animals such as hamsters and otters, who do so without incurring the charge of forgetfulness. Memory, indeed, is as efficient as any other animal faculty when and where its employment is necessary, and, above all, natural.

The extent of an animal's memory is often tested by its powers of recognition. A wild creature has few opportunities of acknowledging previous acquaintances, and in fewer instances would it desire to renew them. It usually falls to domestic animals to provide examples of this kind. Among numerous personal experiences I remember the somewhat comic reaction of a terrier, not seen for many years and unnoticed at our next meeting until the owner called attention to its behaviour. It was sitting with head cocked at an interrogative angle, subjecting me to a minute scrutiny, as the outcome of which it suddenly bounded forward with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome.

One cannot find any support for the widespread belief in a dog's ability immediately to penetrate any disguise. On the contrary, complete camouflage puzzles a dog considerably, and the more intelligent the animal the greater its perplexity, being the better able to appreciate points of difference. Admittedly he arrives at his conclusions through other senses than those which we usually employ, but these too are largely offset by camouflage, which confuses scent as well as sight. It is noticeable upon

such occasions that *speech* is necessary to establish reassurance, and observation suggests that a dog's memory for sound is as infallible as in the case of scent. He actually depends a great deal upon hearing—once again a matter of association without which it is doubtful whether an animal's memory ever functions.

In the human mind pleasant impressions are longer lived than unpleasant, and dislikes certainly soften with time. This, apparently, does not apply to animals. Animosity is usually lifelong, and far from Man being the only creature that bears illwill, an intelligent beast seldom forgives an injury or what in its own peculiar outlook amounts to an affront. Animals possessing 'character' are worst in this respect, and in this category must be placed the conventionally stupid, but in reality uncannily intelligent, farmyard bull. To everyone possessing any knowledge of cattle he is always a creature to be treated circumspectly, and this becomes doubly advisable on the part of anyone unlucky enough to incur the great beast's antagonism. A bull is an inveterate hater, not of the human race but of individuals, and the gage, once thrown, is never withdrawn—as far as the bull is concerned. This is often the outcome of ill usage, as in the case of a man whose cruelty to the beast he attended was a byword. Whenever he entered the stall the animal trembled, and trusting to the fear which he inspired the man was eventually indiscreet enough to release it when single-handed. It is only necessary to add that the terrible completeness of the bull's revenge still makes history in the district.

Similar instances are numerous, though not necessarily leading to a tragic conclusion. Near here to-day there exists a Jersey bull whose active dislike of his two rustic attendants literally drove one to enlistment and the other to matrimony. Nor is maltreatment always the cause of hostility. It may be quite unaccountable, as when yet another local beast recently took violent exception to a farmer's daughter, in defence of whom the father became "Enemy No. 1," from which development arose a position necessitating the sale of the bull. A friend who farmed in Kenya lately told me of a beast upon his colonial holding, and of the most inconvenient aversion which it developed for himself. The bull being

valuable, he endeavoured to keep it, trusting that a homeward trip which he was about to take would put matters right. He was away six months, but the bovine heart had grown no fonder in his absence. When walking in his garden the very night of his return he was startled by a menacing snort just outside the fence, and there, flaring the air, its tail ominously erect, stood the bull, ready to welcome the returned master. They shot him next morning—the only manner of terminating an impossible situation.

An intelligent dog has a particular dislike of being startled, and if once scared, even unintentionally, by a stranger, it ever after presents a hostile front to the offender. While never failing to presume upon fear, it accepts discomfiture as final, its memory in this respect being also long. Some years ago a large Airedale was kept chained near the back door of a neighbouring manor-house for protection. Always savage, it conceived a special aversion for the estate carpenter, at whose approach it invariably bounded forward to the full extent of the chain—raving but impotent as long as the tether held. Upon the latter point the carpenter had misgivings, and there arrived the day when, in his own words, 'it broke sure enough,' just when he had shouldered a pile of planks and laboured under an obvious strategic disadvantage. Casting both dignity and load to the winds, he withdrew precipitately, the boards clattering down behind him, and into this avalanche crashed the dog, whose turn it then became to retreat, the rout complete.

Thenceforth the situation was reversed, the Airedale diving into its kennel whenever the man appeared. There followed the Great War, the enlistment of the carpenter, and an interval of more than four years before he again entered the yard to report himself for work. The dog, even surlier with advancing age, sprang up as usual to challenge the intruder. But even before the chain imposed its customary curb he checked his advance. The snarl died in a gurgle of consternation and into his kennel he crept, like a terrified rabbit into its hole.

Few dogs, with all their high intelligence, can master the principle of indirect consequence. The process is too complicated for memory to register the sequence of events. To connect an illness with its probable origin would be

beyond canine comprehension, yet dogs remember relief rendered, seeking it from the same quarter when in distress. A remarkably clever Labrador of mine, when caught in a steel trap, acquired the wit to sit still and await release, having discovered that by so doing he suffered less. The same dog sustained several adder bites, with, in one instance, all but fatal consequences. Rarely indeed is caution learned from such encounters, the 'injection' not being sufficiently painful to inspire any fear of the reptile. There was no reason why this Labrador should display any more perspicacity than others, but one day, in the course of a walk, I saw him suddenly drop his tail and glance apprehensively at a spot near the fringe of a gorse brake, after which he came immediately to heel, as if for protection. Inspection revealed two vipers, coiled and torpid in the sunshine, but with heads poised for action.

A dog is one of the few animals unquestionably addicted to dreaming, and since presumably he neither imagines nor bestows thought, waking or sleeping, upon the future, his dreams must deal with bygone events. With increasing age men live more and more in the past, and it is safe to assume that the same rule applies to all animals that think. If again, with them as with us, pleasant memories and impressions are indeed the longest lived, then the decline of an old dog, sleeping away his last days in the sun, must be a happy process. If old scenes return to the dying, that is doubtless the solution of a very old problem—the alleged last pilgrimage undertaken by certain creatures, theoretically in search of some mysterious, undiscovered resting-place, more probably, each seeking its earliest home, the memory of which has grown vivid as the curtain, fast closing over the present, lifts from the past. Many picturesque fantasies have a background of truth, no less attractive to the imagination and possessing the additional charm of reality.

DOUGLAS GORDON.

Art. 5.—THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

It is one of the many tragedies of war that the international cooperation and good will which is one of the most salient characteristics of science in peace-time altogether disappears in time of war.

Science is of fundamental importance to the successful prosecution of any enterprise. In business and manufacture, in exploration and discovery, in the conquest of space and time by man and machine, the outstanding achievements of the twentieth century owe much if not all to the substitution of that reasoned investigation and accurate study of problems which is the scientific method for the older ways of tradition and empiricism. It is therefore not surprising to find that science is applied to the prosecution of war, and applied in a fashion which limits the benefits of any discoveries made to the nation which makes them.

But the abnormal state of war leads to an abnormal state of research. Scientific investigations fall into two groups, namely, pure research, which is concerned with the discovery or elucidation of fundamental principles and facts, and applied research, which is concerned with the application of such principles or of facts emanating from them to human needs. The programme of the pure scientist is usually a long-range one, necessitating, perhaps, many years of patient labour, and it may be even longer before the results of his work become of interest or importance to the general public. The applied scientist, on the other hand, is engaged upon particular problems, the solution of which has become desirable or imperative in the course of some particular human activity; and when success rewards his efforts but a short interval elapses before his results are made effective. In peacetime a majority of scientific workers are engaged upon the long-term programmes of pure research; but in time of war most of these programmes have to be abandoned and the energies of scientists are directed to the solution of urgent day-to-day problems, or to the prosecution of schemes of investigation which relate directly to the war effort and will cease with the advent of peace. Applied research becomes paramount.

The special problems which face the war-time research worker fall into six main groups.

In the first group are problems of a medical or surgical nature. Whenever large numbers of individuals are massed together or transported from place to place there is a special risk of epidemic disease. Such epidemics, on account of their virulence, the rapidity with which they spread, and the abnormal conditions under which they have to be combated, often present entirely new difficulties to those responsible for maintaining the health of the troops. During the early part of the last century typhoid and paratyphoid fevers were responsible for heavy mortality among soldiers, especially during campaigns, which no empirical methods seemed able to check. The discovery of the causative organism, the typhoid bacillus, however, and of the fact that there existed no less than three varieties of it, enabled investigators to devise treatments which culminated with the introduction, in 1916, of a triple vaccine by which the incidence of these diseases was rapidly reduced to negligible proportions. Through the centuries various forms of typhus fever have also caused heavy mortality among troops, but it was not till the war of 1914-18 that the problem was tackled in a scientific fashion. It had been shown that the causative organism of typhus was transmitted by lice, and the introduction of energetic delousing measures prevented epidemics reaching serious proportions among the great armies massed in Europe, and this in spite of the transfer of great bodies of German troops from eastern Europe, where a great epidemic was raging, to the western front. Another serious problem which faced medical investigators during the early days of the Great War was the appearance of tetanus among the wounded. Immediate steps were taken to prepare a suitable prophylactic serum, and it was found that the disease could be prevented if doses of anti-tetanus serum were given as soon as the wound was sustained—a practice which soon became universal in the Allied armies. In connection with the treatment of wounds the problems which have occurred and are occurring are threefold: first, the actual surgical treatment of the wound itself; second, the treatment or prevention of secondary infections of the wound; and third, the

investigation of anything which promotes speedier healing. In the first group may be mentioned the extraordinary growth of plastic surgery which resulted from the stimulus of disfiguring wounds sustained in the Great War, and the recent discovery of a chromium-cobalt-molybdenum alloy superior to anything previously used for plates, pins, and screws in fracture work. In the second group may be mentioned gas-gangrene, the study of the bacteria which cause it, and the development of an effective serum treatment for its prevention. A problem which still invites the attention of research workers in this connection is the infection of wounds by *streptococci*, which causes great damage and mortality. Recent advances in drug therapy, however, have enabled much progress to be made in this direction, and the use of sulphanilamide, sulphapyridine, and sulphamethylthiazol, which are particularly effective against streptococcal infections, has met with a considerable degree of success, although there still remains much investigation to be done before the solution is complete. In the third group much inquiry remains to be done. Various growth-promoting substances, such as the sterol hormones, may yet prove to be the basis of new and startling treatments. Mention should also be made of some of the remarkable empirical treatments which have proved so successful in the last two decades, as, for example, the infection of wounds by fly-grubs, which, surprisingly, promotes clean and rapid healing; and the method of immobilisation of wounded limbs by casing them in plaster after excision of metal fragments, a method developed with success during the Spanish Civil War.

The second group contains problems relating to the supply of raw materials. In war-time many of the usual sources of supply are closed, and, indeed, to bring about this state of affairs is one of the major aspects of modern strategy. It therefore becomes urgently necessary either to find new and available sources of supply or to find satisfactory substitutes for those materials of which the nation is being starved. Thus, among raw materials not found in adequate quantities within the borders of Germany are aluminium, manganese, chromium, mercury, platinum, tungsten, antimony, tin, nickel, phosphates, asbestos, mica, and iodine. With the changed situation in Europe, however, some of these materials, most of

which are important in the manufacture of munitions of war, are now available to Germany from conquered countries, as, for example, aluminium ores from France and nickel from Finland, while Russia could provide a surplus of most of them if she wished to do so. One of the basic raw materials of industry is cellulose, which in one form or another is used in the manufacture of paper, cardboard, gun-cotton, and many other essential commodities. With Germany's conquest of Norway and her establishment of a stranglehold on the Scandinavian countries our principal sources of supply of cellulose, in the form of timber, sawdust, and woodpulp, were closed. Increased supplies from Canada are to some extent meeting this problem, but this puts extra strain on our already fully-employed mercantile marine and makes the discovery of new sources closer at hand a problem of some urgency. Cellulose is present in large quantities in such materials as straw, reeds, bracken, peat, potato and tomato haulms, sunflower stalks, and hop waste—all of which are readily obtained in this country—and investigation of methods by which they may be converted into a form in which their cellulose content can be utilised is proceeding apace. The classic example of the search for and discovery of a synthetic substitute for a raw material was provided by Germany in the Great War. Nitrates, which are essential to the manufacture both of artificial fertilisers and of explosives, were formerly obtained mainly from the large guano and mineral deposits along the west coast of South America. This source of supply was promptly closed to Germany by the British blockade, and the problem of substitute nitrates or alternative sources of supply became an urgent one. The only available alternative source of supply was the nitrate obtained as a by-product from the distillation of coal, and this was grossly inadequate. Germany was therefore thrown back on the synthesis of a suitable substitute, which was eventually obtained in sufficient quantity through the application, on an industrial scale, of Haber's process for the synthesis of ammonia from atmospheric nitrogen. But for this discovery Germany would have had insufficient explosives to carry her through the first year of the war. Since the Treaty of Versailles, and with more intensity than ever since the rise to power of the present

regime, German scientists have been bending their energies to the production of synthetic substitutes for all materials either not obtainable within the Fatherland or requiring for their manufacture substances more urgently needed for war purposes. The citizens of Germany in recent years have become used to substitutes for rubber, for soap, and for textiles, to the replacement of brass articles by ones of plastic materials, and to the introduction of many other 'ersatzstoffe' to an extent to which, in this country, with our freer access to the world's markets, we are quite unaccustomed. The war has given a tremendous stimulus to industrial research in the use of synthetic plastic materials. The shortage of silk will inevitably lead to the use of such materials as nylon and etho-raon for the manufacture of hosiery and other garments. The extensive use of metals for munitions of war leads to a shortage of metal for other purposes, so that many articles formerly made of brass, copper, chromium, and cast iron are now being made of substances like bakelite. In Germany the shortage of fats is to some extent being made good by the synthesis on a commercial scale of fatty acids for use in the manufacture of such articles as soap. Shortage of oils in all belligerent countries, and even in America, has stimulated research in the manufacture of paints and varnishes, and resulted in the discovery of at least one substitute oil for raw material. The vastly increased consumption of petrol in war-time readily leads to shortage, hence intensive research has been undertaken to produce a satisfactory substitute from coal or some other raw material readily available in quantity. Several synthetic petrols have been produced, but none of these is yet in production in sufficient quantity to make a major contribution to the needs of either Britain or Germany. However, Germany is reported to have recently perfected an electrical discharge process for the manufacture of lubricating oils especially for aeroplanes, which is said to increase viscosity. Among other products of the German research chemists are 'buna,' a form of synthetic rubber, now being manufactured on a commercial scale, and 'lignofol,' a highly compressed resin-impregnated wood which has been used with success to replace metal for certain types of bearings.

In the third group may be placed problems relating to

the production or improvement of weapons of war. It is to these problems that probably the greatest intensity of scientific investigation is devoted, since a single discovery in this field may give one side such decided superiority as to provide the means of bringing hostilities to a speedy end. Such, no doubt, the Germans hoped would be the effect of the magnetic mine which they introduced in the early stages of the present war, and of which the detonating mechanism is set off by the magnetic field of a passing ship. Our own investigators, however, were quick to find an answer to this challenge in the form of the degaussing belt by which the magnetic field of the ship is nullified. Much publicity has recently been given in the Press to the matter of a secret weapon, but from the crossbow, the use of which at the battle of Hastings had such a disastrous effect on the English troops, to the British tanks which threw back the German armies on the Somme in September 1916, history teems with examples of weapons which effected a complete surprise on the enemy against whom they were used. All such weapons were the outcome of extensive research, but they have not always been the result of mechanical ingenuity. Research chemists are also constantly at work in the endeavour to find new and more powerful explosives which can yet be handled with reasonable care, and vast indeed is the step from the crude gunpowder of a century ago to the deadly explosives of to-day. Italian chemists are reported to have recently discovered a new type of high explosive—nitrometriol—manufactured from glucose and methanol. Also in the domain of chemistry is the investigation of new types of poison gas and the problem of finding effective filters by which the known varieties of gas may be neutralised. It is thought, however, that the prospect of finding new war gases that are appreciably more toxic than those already in use is remote. Research tends to centre, therefore, round cheaper modes of manufacture and more effective methods of distribution. In the realm of metallurgy come researches for lighter and harder steels for armour-plating, super-hardened alloys for armour-piercing shells and bullets, heat-resisting alloys for gun-linings, light alloys of aluminium and magnesium for aeroplane parts; and with new alloys must be found new techniques for handling the metals so as to retain

their properties during manufacture. More delicate but no less deadly are the various precision instruments which are part and parcel of the technique of modern warfare. The invention and perfection of range-finders, aircraft predictors, and submarine detectors has played as large a part in the victories of the last three decades as the instruments of destruction themselves. Camouflage presents another set of problems to which research work alone can provide the key and plays a rôle of increasing importance in modern warfare. During the last twenty-five years much progress has been made in the establishment of certain well-defined principles based on biological and psychological research. During the present war there has been much delay in establishing an effective research section to deal with problems of camouflage, a section of which the findings may be speedily recognised and quickly applied, but to some extent this deficiency has recently been overcome. There has, too, been failure to recognise that the problem is largely a psychological one, and while the services and advice of artists, engineers, architects, chemists, and photographers have been sought and used, it is only recently that psychologists and biologists have had any say in the matter.

In the fourth group are problems which relate more particularly to the civilian population, problems to which, until very recently, there has been a tendency to pay but little attention. The maintenance of a high standard of public health is a matter of much greater difficulty in war-time than in time of peace. Of outstanding importance is the problem of food. Even in peace-time a certain proportion of the population suffers from malnutrition due to poverty or to ignorance or to both. The problem of educating the population in the choice of health-promoting foods is one of which only the fringe has been touched by the bulletins issued by the Ministry of Food. Moreover the rise in price of many of the most essential health-giving foods makes it difficult or impossible for a large percentage of the population to obtain them in adequate quantities. In many cases, such as the prevalent production of white bread, vested interests are permitted to profit to the detriment of the public health. Here the difficulties are rather ones of social research and education, and of effective control, than of scientific research. But

ways of providing the people with the essential accessory food factors in cheap and compact form by extracting them from copious natural sources or by synthesis artificially may yet be more fully explored and applied. The deficiency of an average war diet in vitamins and mineral salts, especially iron salts, has been recognised and applied in this war, as not in the last, by the Germans, who have taken steps to extract these substances from rich natural sources or to manufacture them in the laboratory and to supply them to at any rate part of the population. Another aspect of this problem is the question of agricultural research. Less than 40 per cent. of the nation's food consumption is produced within our own borders, and in the effort to increase this proportion little use of available scientific and technical information has been made. Scientific research in this and in other countries has discovered much in relation to the production and application of artificial fertilisers, the organised planning of production, the use of such ultra-modern techniques as vernalisation, the establishment of seed-lines of uniform high quality, the control of pests of crops and stored products, and last but not least, scientific methods of animal breeding. It may be that in the future more uniform and energetic executive action will bring this knowledge to bear in an intensive effort to make the country to a greater degree self-supporting in the matter of food than it is at present. The preservation of perishable foods is another aspect of this vast problem and one which is the subject of much research. An entirely new set of problems has been introduced by the nightly crowding of a large section of the population into air-raid shelters, where difficulties arise in relation to ventilation, sanitation, and the spread of infectious diseases. The difficulty of getting adequate sleep under the conditions of aerial bombardment and the nervous disorders which arise from this state of affairs raise still other problems for solution. The effect of noises of warfare upon the ear is by no means fully understood as yet and research is still going on. The Government issue of ear-plugs is an admission of the seriousness of the problem. The use of drugs in war-time to deaden sensitivity or to increase activity has many applications and further ones are being sought for constantly. For example,

in the Great War it was discovered that doses of sodium phosphate in water had a considerable stimulating effect upon the physical energies.

So great are these problems of public health, and so far from adequate solution and effective treatment, that it may be foreseen that the disease-resistance of the population of the belligerent countries will be so far lowered by inadequate feeding, nervous strain, and unhealthy living conditions that the way will be paved for post-war epidemics of unparalleled severity, similar to the influenza epidemic which swept the world after the Great War, and which caused a mortality almost as great as that incurred during the fighting.

In the fifth group are problems covering a wide range of subjects, which may be summarised under the heading of public relations. Among these propaganda takes first place. In war-time the conquest of public opinion is as important as victory in the field. In no previous war has the necessity for bringing the majority of the population to a particular attitude of mind been so fully realised or so earnestly striven after by either side. To undermine the morale of the enemy while at the same time strengthening that of the home population, not by deeds of war, but by the dissemination of propaganda through the agency of the wireless, the cinema, the newspapers, pamphlets, and agents has become a major item of strategy. The methods of the advertising specialist have become the technique of governments. What is sometimes called market research—the sampling of public opinion by the use of accurate psychological methods in measuring the effectiveness of advertising—now plays an important part in the relation between the governments and peoples not only of the belligerent but also of the neutral nations. Analysis of the reactions of the public, diagnosis of the state of morale, allaying tension and giving instruction as to how to act under given situations of emergency—all these aspects of propaganda bring problems the solution of which is the task of the social sciences. Nor are these less important than the more striking problems of the third group. France was brought to her knees, despite her mighty armies and her modern equipment, by the gradual sapping of the national morale. The boredom of her troops induced by an inactive defensive policy, the

political instability and consequent vacillation of public opinion were exploited to the full by German agents and German propaganda; and the danger was not realised, if indeed it was realised at all by those in power, until too late. When, later, Hitler's rapid advance was raising military problems of unparalleled magnitude, the Government was powerless to check the mass evacuations of the civilian population from invaded or threatened territory which so fatally impeded the movements of troops and munitions. All this was due to inadequate and unscientific propaganda on the part of the French Government. So great may be the disaster when lack of scientific approach to a matter has left the urgency of its problems unrealised, and their solution uninvestigated. Another aspect of public relations is provided by the many problems relating to the efficiency of workers. Accurate scientific investigation alone can decide the conditions under which workers can maintain their highest degree of efficiency; how hours of work, distribution of rest pauses, and work spells, noises, heating, lighting, humidity, and ventilation will affect the total output. The organisation of labour is a problem for the social scientist.

In the sixth group is an entirely new set of investigations which have been set on foot in the present war by the introduction of air-raid precautions. The force and direction of blast from exploding bombs, the trajectory and penetrating power of shrapnel splinters of various sizes, and many other factors have had to be taken into account in devising suitable shelters to afford the maximum protection from air attack to the civilian population, and in constructing buildings which shall be as immune from bomb damage as is possible. Camouflage, too, once more plays an important part in protection from aerial attack.

Impressive as are the range and volume of applied research in relation to problems of war, the profound effect upon the whole course of hostilities which is exercised by pure research, pursued in peace-time and for no ulterior motive, must not be forgotten. Perhaps the most startling example is that provided by the science of meteorology. The advances made in peace, the knowledge gained of the many and complex factors that influence the weather, and the ability thus obtained to

make accurate forecasts has been of inestimable value in making possible the long-distance flights over Germany and Italy of the machines of the Bomber Command of the R.A.F. Indeed, without this knowledge many of these flights would have been impossible. Then, too, the high degree of manoeuvrability and great speed of modern warplanes are largely due to discoveries in the field of aerodynamics which were in no sense the result of applied research. Their design is based upon fundamental discoveries with regard to air-flow and the production of eddies and turbulence which were the outcome of pure research. In this war the use of wireless telegraphy has reached an unparalleled degree of importance, not only in relation to military communications but also in the field of propaganda. Indeed, it might not be too much to say that it has shaped the course of the war. Yet the discovery of wireless telegraphy was the outcome of the disinterested search for truth.

In spite of the great volume of special research which must be undertaken in connection with the prosecution of war, the general effect upon scientific advance is one of stultification. The impact of special problems and the necessity for their immediate solution retards scientific discovery and the advance of knowledge by diverting the energies of research workers from pure to applied investigations. It is rare that any scientific discovery of fundamental importance is made during war-time by scientists of the belligerent countries. Even technical progress is retarded by the urgency of short-term investigations which take the place of the long-term researches upon which advancement ultimately depends. Moreover, very few of the scientific discoveries and inventions made use of in the prosecution of war are entirely the result of research directed towards such particular ends. Rather they are adaptations of results obtained in peace-time by scientists engaged in the pursuit of investigations of natural phenomena. It is the application of known principles rather than the discovery of new ones which produces the necessary solution of pressing problems. Thus the discovery of the degaussing belt, by which the menace of the magnetic mine was countered, was made by the application of facts relating to magnetism which had been discovered very many years before, namely,

that the earth's magnetic field, which produces the ship's magnetism, could be nullified by the creation of an artificial field of equal strength and opposite direction. Similarly, the production of sugar from wood-pulp, sugar which is of use in the manufacture of nitroglycerine for explosives, of glucose for human consumption and in many other ways now that supplies of cane-sugar are limited, depends, not upon any special investigation made with the idea of discovering an artificially-produced sugar, but upon the disinterested investigation of carbohydrate chemistry by pure research workers. Many other instances might be cited of war-time investigations which have led to the application of some principle or fact discovered during peace-time by pure research.

The reduction or cessation of pure research in war-time is unfortunate, not only since it retards the progress of science, but also because of the stimulating and fertilising effect which it has upon all scientific work, and not least upon *ad hoc* research. Difficult as are the conditions under which we live, they should not be allowed to suppress or interrupt the disinterested search for truth. No political considerations should be allowed to fetter such discoveries, for it is only the truths won in many fields of science by the creative minds of pure research workers which can provide the material for building the new social order after the war, that social order which shall justify the present turmoil and conflict.

It very often happens that the results of war-time research on special problems receive a measure of publicity out of all proportion to their true importance, while results of more fundamental and far-reaching importance obtained in peace-time are ignored. Since the, sometimes, startling results of war-time investigations are often the outcome of some fundamental fact of principle discovered in peace-time, this state of affairs provides an example of that lack of sense of proportion so prevalent during war. It is then brought vividly home to the people that a scientific discovery may be the means of saving their lives while a discovery of more far-reaching importance and effect made in peace-time may be accepted without comment. Thus the recent introduction of a new type of British fighter plane received a measure of publicity far in excess of some of the technical advances

in aeroplane design made in peace-time which made modern warplanes possible.

It has in the past been the case in nearly all belligerent countries that the use made of scientific knowledge and discovery has been tardy and half-hearted. Both sides were brought to the brink of disaster in the Great War on more than one occasion by such neglect. Indeed it may fairly be said that the Germans owed their defeat as much to their lack of appreciation of the importance of vitamins in diet and of the existing natural sources of them, which led to both civil population and troops becoming riddled with disease, as to the military and naval activities of the Allies. Scientists act in a purely advisory capacity in time of war; the application of their results depends only too often upon authorities with little or no scientific understanding and often too enamoured of traditional methods to be sympathetic towards innovation. There has been, and indeed still is, a lack of coordination between scientific advisors and executive authorities which has put a brake on the wheel of progress. Yet it would be unjust to stress this aspect too much, for 'more haste less speed' is no less true of the application of new ideas before their worth has been proved than it is of more everyday matters. Moreover, it often happens that scientific experts give conflicting advice, and the unfortunate layman, unable to weigh the pros and cons, may be pardoned if he has his doubts; and this is more often the case with the short-range investigations of war-time, where quick results are of paramount importance. Executive authorities can move quickly enough in their application of scientific advice where control is sufficiently unified and the necessity sufficiently urgent, as in the case of the degaussing belt already cited. Then, too, scientists sometimes fail to present their case in a form readily comprehensible to the non-scientists or to make their knowledge available to executive staffs in a form in which it can be readily grasped and its importance realised. It is especially true that conflicting theories and technicalities bar the way in the social sciences—as yet in their infancy.

In the present state of affairs, in which the scientific outlook is largely lacking in the circles which wield political power and executive staffs rarely have any great

measure of scientific training, such difficulties must be expected to occur. The scientist is in the position of a doctor who gives advice to his patient without any certainty as to whether it will be taken or whether the patient, through ignorance or distaste, will ignore it, to his own misfortune. Moreover it is difficult, even for a scientist, to view broad human problems with the same detached and relentless accuracy that is brought to research work.

Another difficulty which occurs in nearly all war-time research work is the lack of unification of control. It often happens that several groups of workers are engaged quite independently upon the same problems and much wastage of effort occurs through overlapping. Gradually but surely, however, the indubitable advantages of coordination of research and organisation are being realised and put into effect in this country. Greater unification of control and cooperation between workers engaged upon similar problems is exemplified by such developments as team work in the universities and research associations in industry.

The scientific outlook and the results of scientific research must play a major part in the post-war reconstruction. A clear view and orderly set-out of the problems to be faced is essential. Perhaps in this country a Ministry of Reconstruction will be formed to make use of the results of sociological research for the people's welfare. Organisation and coordination of production and distribution will pave the way for the establishment of minimum standards of housing, food, and medical care, for the provision of security against unemployment, ill-health, accident, old age, and widowhood. Only by scientific planning can this be achieved. Moreover, such reorganisation must be international. The greatest achievements of the League of Nations were in the application of science to international problems of this type, but its executive powers were so limited as to restrict its achievements. No such limits must fetter the reorganisation after the present war, in which the results of scientific research will play an even bigger part than in war.

JOHN M. WATSON.

Art. 6.—THE DOUGLAS CAUSE: AN UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE.

WHETHER the Douglas Cause (as it is called) was the most celebrated case before the Scottish law courts in the eighteenth century is perhaps a debatable point, but there can be no doubt that it aroused widespread interest not only in Scotland but in England and on the Continent. Boswell tells us that the case came to 'interest nations.' Dr Johnson, it is true, would neither study the points at issue nor read the pamphlet entitled 'The Essence of the Douglas Cause,' but he was a notable exception. Even Voltaire in his retreat at Ferney (as this correspondence discloses) diligently applied his mind to the subject, endeavoured to obtain every scrap of information concerning it, and, after carefully weighing the evidence, expressed 'the utmost astonishment at the decision.'

The salient facts of the Douglas Cause are briefly these: Archibald, third Marquis of Douglas, was created Duke of Douglas in 1703, but dying childless in 1761 the dukedom became extinct. The marquise devolved on the Duke of Hamilton. The sister of the deceased Duke, Lady Jane Douglas (1698–1753), married in 1746 Sir John Stuart of Grandtully. Two years later, and when in her fiftieth year, she gave birth to twin sons. One of the twins died in 1753; the other was, in 1761, served heir of entail to the Duke of Douglas. This, however, was disputed on the ground that he was not really the son of Lady Jane Douglas; but the House of Lords, upturning the decision of the Court of Session, settled the Douglas Cause in his favour.

One of the judges in the House of Lords appeal was Mansfield, who was audaciously attacked in a series of letters for the part he had taken in deciding the Douglas Cause. 'What a pity,' wrote John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 'that so exalted and amiable a character as Lord Mansfield should have all along supported those shameful fabrications, which were a temptation to perjury!' The epistles were penned by Andrew Stuart, counsel for the Duke of Hamilton, who disputed the identity of Archibald James Edward, the twin son of Lady Jane Douglas, and tried to prevent his succession to the extensive estates of the Douglas family. Mansfield threw the weight of

his commanding influence on the side of Douglas, but not without displaying, as Stuart thought, a measure of judicial obliquity. When the suit was before the House of Lords Stuart was decidedly pugnacious, fought a duel with Edward Thurlow (afterwards Lord Thurlow), the opposing counsel, and ended up by publishing 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' (1773) in which, with a critical power and eloquence that caused him to be regarded as 'a worthy rival of Junius,' he taunted that judge with perverting the ends of justice.

Stuart has a niche in literary as well as in legal history. The second son of Archibald Stuart of Torrance, in Lanarkshire, he was tutor to the children of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton, through whose good offices he was appointed Keeper of the Signet of Scotland. He was a boon companion of Boswell and travelled with him in Holland. Once they were journeying from the Hague to Rotterdam when Stuart, who complained of the slowness of the pace, seized the reins from the Dutch driver and drove so hard that, as Boswell informs us, the very moles came above ground to look at him.

That Stuart should not only have inveighed against the great Chief-Justice but have sent him a copy of a publication containing an account of his Lordship's supposed judicial delinquencies is not perturbing in the case of one who never did obeisance to the precept that discretion is the better part of valour. Accompanying the book was a letter, dated January 12, 1773, which forms a prelude to a notable correspondence relating to the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' that has been recently acquired by the National Library of Scotland. Stuart presented copies of his 'Letters' to many distinguished personages, and the correspondence, while acknowledging the gift, furnishes a running commentary on the Douglas Cause, in which Stuart is hailed as Mr Valiant-for-Truth. The supreme interest of the letters to Stuart, none of which has been hitherto published, lies not in the emergence of any fresh light on the Douglas Cause but rather in the peculiar view-points of the writers, all of them men of intellectual and social eminence. Moreover, the correspondence, regarded cumulatively, reveals the pitch of excitement caused by the lawsuit south as well as north of the Tweed.

In sending a copy of his publication to Mansfield, Stuart wishes 'merely to express to your Lordship that the same principle which has ever made me disapprove of anonymous publications in Cases of this nature has determined me to present to you the first complete copy of these "Letters"' so that 'your Lordship should be possessed of the facts contained in them before they are given to the Publick.' It was a daring thing to do—to arraign Mansfield's 'conduct in the public administration of justice,' to quote the words of Stuart's prefatory note.

'When it shall appear that I have had the strongest reason that ever man had to complain of injury and injustice received from your Lordship; when it shall be shown that you availed yourself of your exalted judicial situation to attack in a publick assembly a private man who had no opportunity either of obviating that attack, or of answering for himself; and when the flagrant injustice of this attempt shall, in the course of these letters, be laid open to publick view, it will then be allowed that my right thus to address your Lordship is of the strongest and most unquestionable nature.'

Whatever substance there may have been in Stuart's accusations, he adopted a form of retaliation which cannot be defended and which to-day would have incurred the severest penalties of the law. As an experienced lawyer, Stuart ought to have known that to impugn the conduct of a judge in the final court of appeal was, apart from its brazen effrontery, an offence of the first magnitude. And the affair takes on a more sinister aspect when it is remembered that Stuart was counsel for the losing party in the Douglas Cause.

But, strange to say, this was not the contemporary view, as the correspondence discloses. That Stuart was justified in attacking Mansfield in the way he did was the opinion of men of intellect and character and established reputation, who were fertile in what seemed to them cogent reasons for commending the step that Stuart had felt himself impelled to take.

When Topham Beauclerk and Boswell visited Johnson on April 27, 1773, the trio, it will be remembered, talked of 'Mr Andrew Stuart's elegant and plausible "Letters to Lord Mansfield,"' a copy of which had been sent by the author to Dr Johnson.' This, we now learn for the first time, was due primarily to the good offices of Topham

Beauclerk. To Stuart he wrote from the Adelphi on February 5, 1773 :

' Dr S^r, Mr Crawford told me that you was so obliging to offer me one of your Books for Dr Johnson. I am sure he will receive great pleasure from it, & if you will send it to me, I will take care that he shall have it immediately. I am very much obliged to you for the copy of your Book which you sent to me. I need not tell you my Sentiments about it, they would add very little to the general Opinion of Mankind, but this much I must say, that I am extremely rejoiced to find, that there is a man in this vile Town who has virtue enough to revenge an Injury, when the person who offers it is in the highest situation in this Country. No man certainly ever received a greater Affront than you did, nor no one ever so handsomely revenged it.'

Topham Beauclerk's prognostication that Johnson would be among the admirers of the ' Letters to Lord Mansfield ' was not fulfilled, it being the Doctor's considered opinion that Stuart's epistles had ' not answered the end.' According to Johnson, they had not even been talked about, the reason being that the publication was for private circulation only. It is singular that so sagacious a man as Johnson does not seem to have taken exception to Stuart's action. When Boswell pertinently asked : ' May it not be doubted, sir, whether it be proper to publish letters, arraigning the ultimate decision of an important cause by the supreme judicature of the nation ? ' Johnson replied : ' No, sir, I do not think it was wrong to publish these letters. If they are thought to do harm, why not answer them ? But they will do no harm ; if Mr Douglas be indeed the son of Lady Jane he cannot be hurt ; if he be not her son, and yet has the great estate of the family of Douglas, he may well submit to have a pamphlet against him by Andrew Stuart. Sir, I think such a publication does good, as it does good to show us the possibilities of human life. And, sir, you will not say that the Douglas cause was a cause of easy decision, when it divided your court (*i.e.* Court of Session) as much as it could do, to be determined at all. . . . And then, sir, it was otherwise determined here (*i.e.* House of Lords). No, Sir, a more dubious determination of any question cannot be imagined.'

Johnson's reply to Boswell's question was irrelevant.

The lexicographer missed the whole point, which was not as to the effect of Stuart's letters on the fortunes of 'Mr Douglas,' but whether Stuart was justified in writing and publishing a series of letters denouncing Mansfield for what he deemed it right to do in his judicial capacity.

To return to Beauclerk's letter. 'He informs Stuart that Lord Charlemont is 'a greater enthusiast' about the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' 'than I ever saw him upon any other occasion. He says that he shall think his Library imperfect without it, and that I should bestow the greatest obligation upon him if I could procure him a copy. If you have one to spare, I flatter myself you will let me have one, as your Book is truly worthy to be placed in his Library . . . which is one of the finest private Libraries in Europe.' Beauclerk, himself the possessor of 30,000 volumes, housed in a building that reached (Horace Walpole would have us believe) 'half-way to Highgate,' says no more than truth about the bibliomaniac propensities of the first Earl of Charlemont, who, Grattan grandiloquently tells us, 'cast on the crowd that followed him the gracious light of his own accomplishments, so that the very rabble grew civilized as it approached his person.' Charlemont figured prominently in the political and literary circles of his time. At Turin he became acquainted with David Hume, and entertained uncommon respect for his writings. He also belonged to the Johnsonian group, was a leading member of the Dilettanti Club, and was the very particular friend of Beauclerk.

No doubt with an eye to influence in high places, Stuart sent a copy of the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' to the Earl of Chatham, through the medium of Sir Hew Dalrymple, King's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer for Scotland, who was then staying at Bath for the benefit of his health. To Dalrymple the great statesman addressed a letter of thanks. Written from Burton-Pynsent (the Somerset estate which Sir William Pynsent left to Chatham along with £3,000 a year), the epistle is dated February 6, 1773. The penmanship is large and bold, while the phrasing is reminiscent of the grand manner which was second nature to the writer. Here is the full transcript :

'Sir, I am honour'd with an obliging mark of your remembrance, convey'd to me thro' the Channel of Mr L. Grenville,

which I have particular pleasure in acknowledging. The Impressions of early acquaintance formed in the interesting and eager Periods of Life are not easily forgot; nor can Sir Hew Dalrymple have been out of mind with a man, at present, almost out of sight. The wish of your Friend, Mr Stuart, that the printed State shou'd be put into my hands for perusal, is flattering. The very interesting Cause, to which it refers, I was disabled by the gout from attending, and am consequently not so qualify'd, as many, to judge upon the intricacies of it.

'I am sorry to find your letter dated from Bath, as the place implies that you too, as well as myself, may be falling *into the Sear and yellow Leaf*; if at all, I hope not much, and desire you to accept of many good wishes that the waters may answer all your purposes of health. I am, with great esteem and distinction, Dear Sir, your most faithfull & obedient humble servant, Chatham.'

The next letter is from Baron Mure of the Scottish Exchequer, a really influential figure in the management of Scottish affairs when Bute was the foremost man in British politics. His house in the Abbeyhill district of Edinburgh was a favourite resort of Scots men of letters, notably David Hume, between whom and the Baron there was an unusual degree of intimacy. Mure, too, was deep in the counsels of Andrew Stuart, and he is represented by several interesting epistles concerning the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield.' Writing to Stuart on February 27, 1773, Mure informs his friend that his (Stuart's) letter intimating his reasons 'for delaying the Publication, and not advertising, came to my Hands when David (Hume), Robertson (the historian), (Hugh) Blair, (Adam) Ferguson, and Carlyle (of Inveresk) were dining with me. I could not help gratifying such valuable Friends with the Communication of it. It came very properly after our Conversation of that Day, which had turned entirely upon the Praises of your Production (i.e. 'Letters to Lord Mansfield'), and it releived (*sic*) some Doubts with regard to the Consequences, and also with regard to the Truth of some Reports that had been spread about Town, and which the Delay of the Publication had given Rise to. The opinions of all I converse with, as to the merits of your Performance, are uniformly the same; that it does equal Honour to the Force of

your Abilities, to the Dignity of your Spirit, and to the Worth of your Sentiment; and that you have created a Monument to your own Reputation, which no Power on Earth can overthrow.'

No one among Stuart's compatriots raised the approving voice to a higher pitch than James Hutton, the earliest outstanding British geologist and the herald of the orthodox doctrine that the phenomena of the earth's crust is the result of transmutations still in progress. High-principled, frank of utterance, and of penetrating intelligence, Hutton was also admired for his gift of friendship. He lived much in the company of Adam Smith and Joseph Black, and shared their lofty disdain of superficial knowledge and perfunctoriness. Accordingly, when Stuart presented him with a copy of the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield,' he acknowledged it as a scientist, philosopher, and a 'person of sincerity.'

'I read your letters to L. M. with great pleasure. I think they must be admired where they give no pain and will give much pain where they can give no pleasure. The public justification of your character from attacks so unprovoked and unmerited is honorable, is compleat. Your defence of the sacred cause of truth violated in so conspicuous a manner by a person whose mind was neither weak nor uninformed, is as illustrious as the transgression was most infamous. Is there any thing that truly may be called sacred amongst men but truth? Whatever in other respects are their opinions, however ridiculous, however uncertain, in this they all agree without hesitation, that truth is to be held as sacred and falsehood in abomination. . . . What, then, does he deserve who, after the greatest deliberation, in the most publick and solemn manner, has been so worthless as to prostitute his soul to falsehood, and so pernicious in his exalted station as to use his powers to mislead the judgment of the most free and most enlightened nation upon earth. . . . By a lawfull, by a natural vengeance, you have punished a crime which is as much above the reach of law as it is against the principles of justice. . . .'

Mansfield must surely have winced had he been given an opportunity of reading Hutton's scarifying pronouncement. Hutton not only assents to the 'justness' of Stuart's propositions but actually congratulates him on the 'great propriety' of his conduct in the Douglas Cause.

Hume was less expansive and less enthusiastic—indeed suggested to Stuart that he should refrain from persecuting Mansfield ‘any more.’ Writing to Hume from London on March 11, 1773, Stuart had apologised for his ‘long silence,’ the reason being that he was engaged in preparing the ‘Letters to Lord Mansfield’ for the press. At the same time he expressed his gratification on learning of the meeting of his friends in Baron Mure’s house, and of their approval of the publication. Stuart also admitted the justice of Hume’s remark about occasional prolixity, and promised to send the philosopher a list of the Scotticisms in the ‘Letters’ for his criticism. Stuart’s letter brought a bantering reply from Hume, which forms one of the chief items of the present collection. It is in the following terms :

‘St Andrew Square (Edinburgh) 22 of March 1773.

‘My Dear Sir, I always considered your Letters to the Baron (Mure) as common to him and me. However I am glad to hear also from you.

‘We do not understand the Reason why your “Letters” are never sold. We do not doubt but you had a good Reason. I only say we do not understand it. We wish you had not stop’d short half way nor sought (?) to give a second Edition.

‘All your Friends wish to see you next Summer; but I find all of them unite in the Notion, that you have done enough, and ought not to persecute the poor chief Justice any more. It is true, you will be apt to think, from the Experience of the past, that you do better in following your own Opinion than theirs.

‘When Lord Essex received a Blow from the Queen (i.e., Elizabeth), the Chancellor advised him to bear it patiently, and told him that his Friends, being Lookers on, could judge better of the Game than he who was a Player. It is true, my Lord, replied Essex, but as you only see and I feel, I am the better Judge in this case.

‘Pray what says now the president, Sir Gilbert ?

‘Your Deputy, who has a most humble and most respectful Esteem for you, as in Duty bound, tells me, that he is not yet satisfy’d concerning the Reason of that Omission which, he says, he wrote to you about.

‘I suppose your great English Critic is Johnson. I do not believe he has found any Scotticism, except perhaps *circumstantiate*. However, I beseech you, get his List, and send it to me.

'Lord Monboddo, who maintains that all men had originally Tails, asserts that you have likewise horns. I am, Ever yours, D(avid) H(ume).'

The 'Sir Gilbert,' mentioned in Hume's letter, was Sir Gilbert Elliot, third baronet of Minto, who sat for many years in Parliament. Horace Walpole characterises him as 'one of the ablest members,' while Boswell quotes his elocution as a model for Scottish orators. Elliot was one of the literary coterie of Edinburgh, being both a poet and philosopher. Hume not only submitted the manuscript of his 'Dialogues of Natural Religion' for his opinion but wished the baronet to assist him with the part of Cleanthes, who was intended to voice the baronet's philosophical tenets. Elliot declined, and instead wrote a somewhat devastating criticism of the 'Dialogues.' Hume took it in good part, and, on Elliot's advice, refrained from publishing the work during his (Hume's) lifetime.

Lord Monboddo, whom Hume treats derisively, earned more fame by his eccentricities than by his acuteness and learning. He has been spoken of as a forerunner of Darwin, but this is true only with important qualifications. In his 'Origin and Progress of Language' Monboddo contends that man has affinities with the orang-outang monkey, and he unfeignedly believed in the existence of men with long tails, horns, and other bovine attributes—a circumstance of which Dr Johnson made merry. 'Most men endeavour to hide their tails; but Lord Monboddo is as vain of his as a squirrel.'

Another personage who received the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' with 'rapturous pleasure' was Patrick, fifth Lord Elibank. Johnson said that he was 'one of the few Scotchmen whom he met with pleasure and parted from with regret.' Elibank's letter acknowledging the receipt of Stuart's publication, however, rather detracts from this high commendation, as it consists for the most part of specious generalities expressed in violent language. To describe Mansfield as a 'detestable Criminal' was hardly calculated to earn the writer a testimonial for sobriety of judgment.

A copy of the 'Letters' was also forwarded to Dr John Moore, the father of the Peninsular general who fell at Corunna. The friend of Burns and Smollett,

Moore was the author of 'Zeluco,' a novel exhibiting certain aspects of human nature 'taken from life and manners, foreign and domestic.' The material for the book was collected during five years' travel on the Continent as tutor to the eighth Duke of Hamilton. Moore had interviews with Frederick the Great and Voltaire. In a letter to Stuart, dated Geneva, May 21, 1773, he describes a visit to the venerable philosopher at Ferney, and encloses a brief note from Voltaire himself. Moore pays his tribute to the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' in high-coloured diction.

'While they display all the correctness of Elegant Composition, they are wrote at the same time with the sensibility and firmness of a Gentleman, conscious of his own Integrity, repelling Personal Injury, avenging the Cause of Truth, but in the height of resentment never forgetting his own dignity. You have Raised a Monument to your Reputation and Talents which the malevolence of Party, the Malice of enemies, & art of Mansfield cannot overturn. . . . Die when you will, this may be with great Truth engraved on your Tomb—"This Person whose Reputation Mansfield attempted Publicly to murder, tho' then obliged to keep an Indignant Silence, has not descended unlamented and unrevenged to his Grave."'

Then Moore passes to his interview with Voltaire :

'The Duke (of Hamilton) and me went to Ferney lately but had the misfortune to miss Mons^r Voltaire. I left a copy of your "Letters" with a line Informing him of what you (i.e. Stuart) had wrote me. A few days after I Received a letter wrote by himself.

'I Returned to Ferney yesterday and had the pleasure of conversing with the old Gentleman about an hour. He had read your Book with great attention, was master of most of the great facts in the (Douglas) Cause, and expressed the utmost astonishment at the decision. He said a woman who in a foreign Country was about to bring forth an Heir to the great Family of Douglas would naturally have taken every measure to render the truth of the Birth satisfactory. But it appeared to him that every circumstance attending this pretended fact carryed falsehood in its forehead, & he was amazed that any man of sense could give the smallest weight to the vague rambling evidence of Menager contradictory to the acc^t given by St^r John Stuart himself. He added that he had a very bad opinion of that man on acc^t of his conduct

in some late affair in which this same Menager has been engaged, and was curious to know what could be Lord Mansfield's motives, or by what means he could Fascinate (*sic*) the Judgements of the other Lords so much as to make them concur in a decision contrary to evidence which, in his opinion, amounted to demonstration. To this last I could not give a satisfactory answer. We afterwards talked on other subjects, & when I took my leave he desired his compliments to you & Mr. Crawford. . . .'

Moore had a second interview with Voltaire shortly afterwards, and of it there is an equally vivid description in a letter which the author of 'Zeluco' addressed to Stuart from Chatelaine on June 7.

'I had a message from Voltaire Desiring to see me. When I waited on him I found him employed Reading Mr Holwell's Book on the Religion of the Brachmans & his Acc^t of the East Indies, which pleased the old man very much. He is Employed at present in writing a History of the late War, but there is no part which excites his curiosity & engages his attention so much as that (words indecipherable) was carried on in India. He wanted to know from me what was the most esteemed acc^t of the late War which had been published in England & what books or pamphlets of any character gave an acc^t of the manners, character, Religion, & present state of the native inhabitants of India. He is as eager and ardent on this matter as if he was not thirty & seems to be affraid that he will not have time to finish this work, which is the Reason that he is at present obliged, he says, to write too much in a hurry. He spoke to me again about your "Letters," & wanted much to know whether the Peers had taken the publication amiss, whether I thought Mansfield would answer them, etc., etc., and concluded by desiring his compliments to Mr Crawford & you. If you find any opportunity of sending any thing on the subjects above mentioned, it will be a most acceptable present. I think he may live these 15 years yet.'

Whether Stuart sent the information Voltaire wanted I have no means of knowing, but that he should have asked for it is convincing proof that his perusal of the 'Letters to Lord Mansfield' was anything but half-hearted. On the contrary, everything goes to show that, unlike Dr Johnson, Voltaire was profoundly interested in the Douglas Cause and bestirred himself in the hope of mastering its mystifying issues.

W. FORBES GRAY.

Art. 7.—FROM KANT TO HITLER.

IMMANUEL KANT is generally pictured, in Germany itself as well as abroad, as an absorbed philosopher living in a world of his own, without any possible contact with practical life. The Nazis, in particular, have done everything in their power to foster this idea of him. They have every reason to do so, for Kant's teachings on law and statecraft, and particularly his ethical and political views, are entirely incompatible with the Nazi system. They do quote him, nevertheless, but then the quotation is always detached from its context and given the sort of interpretation that would cause Kant himself to turn in his grave. Incidentally, that is the well-known Nazi method whenever they seek support for their doctrines in the works of German poets and scientists of the past. They do not hesitate to misuse even foreign authors in this way when it serves their purpose.

The idea that Kant was ignorant of the ways of the world is, of course, wholly untrue. While it is a fact that he scarcely ever left Königsberg, his native town, and devoted his whole life to science and philosophy, he was anything but a recluse. Of his essay, 'Observations on the Sense of Beauty and the Sense of the Sublime,' a contemporary critic was able to write that there was a place for it on a lady's dressing-table as well as on a scholar's desk. It may sound surprising to hear anything Kant has written recommended as suitable reading for ladies, but it is sufficient to prove that he cannot have been the helpless, unpractical scholar the Nazis represent him to have been.

Herder, a great German poet and thinker, and a disciple of Kant, conveys the great philosopher's essential character in the following word-portrait, which every intending student of Kant will do well to bear in mind :

'His clear, domed brow was the seat of an indestructible cheerfulness, the words that flowed from his lips were heavily charged with ideas ; humour, wit, and atmosphere were at his command, and his lectures of instruction were the most entertaining intercourse. . . . Psychology, History, the Natural Sciences, Mathematics and experience—these were the sources which animated his lectures and conversation.

He had not the least interest in any cabal, sect, advantage or ambition, except in the revelation and elucidation of the truth. He stimulated one, compelled one in a pleasant way to think for oneself. Despotism was foreign to his character.'

That is a true picture of Kant. That is the picture which, together with Kant's teachings, the present rulers of Germany are endeavouring to falsify and distort.

The Germans were once known as 'the people of poets and thinkers.' They owed this promotion to high rank among the civilised nations to Immanuel Kant. It has been reserved for the Nazis to deprive the German people of this proud title and to degrade them in the estimation of civilised humanity.

Before we proceed to demonstrate the infinite contrast that exists between the Kantian philosophy and Nazism, and therefore the depths to which the German people have been dragged, we must briefly consider the significance of Kant to German spiritual life.

The friendship between the two greatest German poets, Goethe and Schiller, whose influence on German cultural development cannot be over-estimated, was based on their joint acceptance of the Kantian philosophy, and the Nazi betrayal of Kant therefore also involves a betrayal of the spirit of Goethe and Schiller.

Incidentally, Kant himself was strongly influenced by British and French thinkers. There was David Hume, of whom Kant said that he had wakened him from his 'dogmatic slumber.' In economics, Kant was in fundamental agreement with Adam Smith. Of Jean Jacques Rousseau (whose portrait was the only ornament of his study) Kant wrote: 'Rousseau has shown me the right way.' He was deeply impressed with Rousseau's educational work, 'Emile,' and it was through his familiarity with Rousseau that he was led from the study of external nature to the study of man, like Socrates and the sophists of Ancient Greece.

An event like the French Revolution could not fail to affect the comprehensive genius of Kant. Karl Marx described Kant's political theory as 'the German theory of the French Revolution,' part of whose motto, 'Liberty and Equality,' he adopted, completing it with 'Independence' instead of 'Fraternity.'

Thus Western thought, which even in Kant's lifetime

was dominated by the spirit of freedom, contributed to the moulding of the philosophy of 'the most German of German thinkers,' as his countrymen called him. The Germans were always more or less conscious of his surpassing greatness, and after the defeat of 1918 Germany's intellectual *élite* raised the cry, 'Back to Kant!' It was the Nazis who stopped this upward movement, dragging the German people down into the moral abyss of Nazi thought, with all its primitiveness and brutality.

Kant's Ethics.—The so-called Nazi philosophy conflicts, above all, with Kant's ethics.

There are two sentences that stand like mighty pillars at the entrance of the splendid edifice of Kantian ethics. 'In all creation,' reads the one, 'anything we want and over which we have power may be used merely as a means, only man and, with him, every rational creature is *an end in itself*.' The other sentence: 'It is not possible to think of anything in the world, and even outside it, that could be regarded as good without qualification, except *good will*.'

Kant himself summarised his ethics in the following principle: 'Act in such a manner that the maxim of your will should always hold good as the principle of general legislation.'

It requires no special knowledge, but merely a knowledge of the events that have occurred in Nazi Germany, to realise that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the ethics of the most German of German thinkers and the so-called ethics of the Nazis.

The basic principle of Nazi ethics is: 'Moral, just and good is that which is useful to the German people.'

The very fact that utility is made the standard of morality deprives this Nazi principle of all ethical content. Kant, more than any other thinker, whether of antiquity or of modern times, completely detached morality from utility; but while his ethics represent an ideal that is unattainable to mere mortals who are unable to eliminate egoism as a decisive, or at least a contributory factor, Kant held that humanity must at least strive towards that ideal. It might be objected that selfishness as a guiding principle was recognised long before the advent of the Nazis, without the adherents of this idea being charged with an unethical attitude. Thus, classical

political economy, as well as English utilitarianism, accepts selfishness as a compensating factor in human relationships. But this policy of 'laissez faire' was based on the honest belief that the inter-play of the different egoisms must work out to the advantage of all in the end. The case of the Nazis is very different. To them there is no such thing as 'humanity'; there are only Germans, the master race, and their slaves—the most brutal form of the utilitarian principle. It is brutal in all its manifestations. One day it appears to be useful to the German people to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Poles; another day it appears to be useful to them to break this pact and slaughter the Poles. Then it appears to be useful to the German people to assure Belgium and Holland that their frontiers would be respected; until it is found that the advantage lies in a sudden invasion of these countries. Again, there was a time when the Nazis considered it useful to represent Bolshevism as the plague of humanity; then they found it useful to conclude a treaty of friendship with this plague.

All this could only happen because the Nazi philosophy is devoid of all connection with any ideal, any higher consideration that towers above the individual and the individual nation, devoid of all connection with the Kantian ideal of humanity, which, according to Kant, every human creature carries in his soul as the mainspring of his behaviour.

This ideal, this mainspring, is absent from the Nazi soul, and it is this spiritual deficiency which also brings them into irreconcilable conflict with Christianity, not only because they deny obedience to God in favour of obedience to the 'Fuehrer,' but also because the theory of a 'master race' that is entitled to exploit and plunder other peoples is in crass contradiction to the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man in the Lord.

In order to discover an equivalent to the Nazi 'morality' we must go back five thousand years, to the customs of the ancient Indians. They lived in village communities, and it was their law that the inhabitants of one village were entitled to cheat, rob, and even kill the inhabitants of another, and were only punished for these offences if they committed them against neighbours

in the same village. Nazi Germany proceeds on the same principle. That is why, as British statesmen have been driven to realise, it is useless to make agreements with Nazi Germany. A political system that recognises no obligation towards 'another village' is not a fit party to a contract.

The Nazi slogan of 'Lebensraum,' the cardinal point in their foreign policy whereby the Nazis try to justify their gross breaches of agreements and their marauding expeditions, remind one of Frederick II's ideas about 'unberechtigete Existenzen' ('people who have no right to live'). In the eyes of the Nazis the Jews, Poles, Czechs, and to a certain extent even the British, have no right to live. Naturally the Nazis themselves decide who is and who is not entitled to live, and, naturally again, they base their judgment on the principle that right and justice are identical with their own interests.

As we have already mentioned, the basic principle of Kantish ethics is the maxim that man is an end in himself and must never be used as a means. It is embodied in his philosophy of law and statecraft. He speaks of man as such, without distinction of religion or race, as might be expected from such a comprehensive genius.

The Nazis think they have established an ethical principle by their slogan, 'You are nothing, your people is everything.' It would appear, in fact, that the Nazis have placed the interests of the community above those of the individual. Actually, however, Nazi practice has shown that the 'ethical' principles launched by them are only a façade behind which they have committed all those crimes that have shocked the world. Indeed, the emphasis in their slogan lies on the first part: 'You are nothing.' And the Nazis have twisted it to mean, 'You have no rights.' Hence the cold-blooded plunder and murder of the Jews; hence the deliberate torture in concentration camps and prisons of those who differ from the Nazis; hence the complete suppression of all individual freedom.

The combination of, 'You are nothing,' and 'Right is that which is useful to me,' was bound to lead to war. It becomes therefore a gross betrayal of truth and reason when the Vichy Government charge French statesmen with the responsibility for the present conflict.

There is no Kantian moral law (or any other, in fact) with which the Nazis are not in conflict. Kant, for instance, describes lying as the greatest crime man can commit against himself. According to him it represents the renunciation, almost the destruction, of human dignity. Kant was realist enough to know that complete frankness is inconsistent with human nature, but he held that sincerity and veracity were things to be expected of every one.

It is, unfortunately, true that statesmen and politicians of most nations are under the impression that they are unable to dispense with untruth, or at any rate with the concealment of truth, but not until the advent of the present leaders of the German people has lying been made the very essence of a political system and the chief instrument of the machinery of State. The 'Fuehrer' himself did not hesitate to lay it down in his 'Mein Kampf' that the greater the lie the more valuable it is. Indeed, German internal policy also rests on this principle. The Nazi Propaganda Ministry, which completely dominates the German Press, radio, screen, literature, art, science, and education, has only one task: to pervert the truth.

Only those who have had the misfortune to live in Nazi Germany, then to escape into the clean atmosphere of a free country, can really appreciate the deep truth of the Kantian dictum that lying destroys human dignity. Shut off from the truth, punished with imprisonment and even death for seeking it, the German people have been dishonoured through lies manufactured for them by the State itself—if we accept the Kantian definition of human honour and dignity. The Nazis thought to restore honour by building a large number of bombers and dropping bombs on women and children. It is a tragic thing that owing to this primitive conception of honour the Nazis have forced peace-loving, civilised nations also to build bombers for their defence. It is always the case that the danger presented by the existence of gangsters lies not only in the fact that the gangster possesses a gun but also in the fact that this compels the decent citizen to spend on a gun the money which he would otherwise spend in buying a book, visiting a theatre, or for other cultural purposes. The unforgivable crime of the Nazis

consists precisely in this, that they have forced civilised nations, through their own gangster morality, to spend a colossal proportion of their national wealth and national energies on the production of armaments, and to postpone social reforms. The objective historian of the future will be able to present the full effects of this Nazi crime against humanity.

The Nazi State.—Kant also showed his people the way as regards the State and the Constitution. In dealing with the State as represented by Plato, he wrote that a Constitution of the greatest human freedom . . . (not happiness, as that would follow automatically) is at least a *necessary* idea which should be made the basis not only of the first draft of the Constitution itself, but also of *all* the laws. Kant regarded the creation of a perfect national Constitution as a task set for man by Nature. Such a Constitution must rest on principles of freedom and justice. 'Human justice is the apple of God's eye,' wrote Kant.

Naturally, even in Kant's time it was objected, just like to-day, that 'the people are not ripe for freedom.' Kant's reply is still valid at the present time. 'Man,' he said, 'must be free in order to be able to use his energies; the first attempts will be crude, and will generally be connected with a more difficult and dangerous state of affairs than when people were under the command, but also under the care of others.' In other words, man can only become ripe for freedom in the actual exercise of freedom. To deny freedom on principle (political, economic, and religious) is, according to Kant, 'an interference with the prerogatives of the Divinity itself, who created Man free.'

Few thinkers, and certainly no Germans among them, have set the ideal of freedom on such a high pedestal as Kant, or held it so sacred. He tackles the problem of freedom in all his works where the context allows it. He coined such dicta as: 'No aversion can be more natural than that of man from servitude'; or 'The man who is dependent is no longer a man, he has lost his rank, is nothing but the appendage of another.'

A hundred and twenty-nine years after Kant's death—in 1804—the Nazis exploited what freedom there was in Germany for their own nefarious purposes, but as soon

as they had achieved power they destroyed that freedom. They did so with a brutality of which only a system devoid of moral ideals is capable.

One must have lived in Germany itself, in close contact with the people, in order to realise the degree of enslavement that prevails in Germany to-day. It is a truth of immutable validity that compulsion always creates hypocrisy and a bad conscience. Both these things have spread in Germany to an alarming extent. I myself was deeply shocked to observe how decent, upright men had become hypocrites and liars from fear of the Gestapo.

Frederick II, so beloved of the Nazis, once said : ' I am tired of ruling over slaves.' His successors have made their ideal to rule over slaves. However, the most tragic feature of the situation is that the German people, hermetically shut off from the outside world and fed exclusively with the lying propaganda of its leaders, is no longer conscious of its slavery—surely the most degrading phase of complete servitude.

If we review the Kantian principles for a national Constitution (FREEDOM, for which Man was created ; HUMAN RIGHTS, the most sacred thing on earth ; Man is an end in himself and must not be used as merely a MEANS), we shall see that the Nazi State satisfies none of these conditions and therefore has no ethical basis.

It is interesting to note that the Nazis are doing everything in their power to destroy Britain, a country organised on the lines laid down by Kant. Incidentally, if Kant disliked the England of his time (he lived between 1724 and 1804) it was on account of the mock parliamentarianism then prevailing. He viewed the American War of Independence with considerable sympathy.

Justice.—If the Nazi State is nothing but a vast prison guarded by primitive and brutal executioners, and therefore diametrically opposed to Kant's political ideal, the Nazi idea of right and justice is, if possible, in still crasser contradiction with that of Kant. ' Right is what is useful to the German people,' the Nazis hold. But even this slogan contains a falsehood on their part, for, in practice, they are thinking of their own advantage, not that of their people. Kant was thinking of the rights of man in general, without distinction.

'The rights of man . . . are a sacred thing, beyond all considerations of utility, and must not be touched by any government, however benevolent.'

And consistently with his concept of right, Kant also says that right is above force: 'When it is no longer a matter of right, but of force, the people itself might try force and render uncertain all legal enactments.'

Kant's sense of justice was so strong that he was able to write: '. . . for if justice vanishes then there is no reason why men should go on living on earth.'

According to Kant the office of ruler is too heavy for any human being, for the ruler must administer the most sacred thing on earth—justice, which is 'the apple of God's eye.' This reminds us of Plutarch's dictum: 'Justice renders a life connected with force and government divine; injustice makes it bestial.'

While Kant condemns force for ethical reasons, to the Nazis it is the chief article of faith. The Nazi philosophy, indeed, is summed up in the words: 'Might is right.'

In 'Mein Kampf' Hitler writes that the fate of countries and nations has always been decided by the sword and that it will be the same in the future. Even if this statement were true—and it is not, because it leaves spiritual factors out of account—a really creative spirit would have sought new paths. Kant, who knew history at least as well as Hitler, was a real genius, and he therefore sought new ways to shape the destiny of nations. Hitler and his gang have followed the trodden paths of the past—the paths from which the greatest men of all nations have been, and still are, endeavouring to deflect the human race.

The Central Problem.—The genius of Kant could not fail to occupy itself with humanity's central problem: Peace or war? He defined his attitude to this problem in his 'Towards Perpetual Peace,' and thereby showed a new way not only to the German people but also to other nations. The idea of a league of nations is clearly outlined in this work.

'Reason,' wrote Kant,

'could have told the people to emerge from the lawless condition of savages and enter a League of Nations in which all countries, even the smallest, could expect its security and its rights not from its own power or its own judgment, but solely

from this great Society of Nations (*Foedus Amphietyonum*), from a united power and from a decision governed by the laws of the united will.'

The Nazis, on the other hand, reject not only the League of Nations at Geneva but also the idea which it embodies. It is incompatible with the Nazi doctrine—might is right—that right and justice should decide between individuals or nations.

Hitler in '*Mein Kampf*' describes how, in 1914, on the outbreak of war, he fell on his knees and thanked God to be allowed to live in such an age. The Nazi system has remained true to this worship of war, worship of force in its most highly organised form. Indeed, war became inevitable the moment the Nazis had risen to power. Even if the Western Powers had voluntarily decided to cancel the Treaty of Versailles they could not have prevented the present war. The people of Britain, in particular, should note that. It was in this country that so much was said about the injustice inflicted on Germany after the last war, the attitude of the Nazis being represented as a reaction to this alleged injustice. This reminds me of what the Duke of Wellington said to Lord Stanhope concerning the rebellion of Newport: 'There is one thing you must never forget in this country, and it cannot be sufficiently emphasised: when our people feel that they are in the wrong and become conscious that they are acting against the law, they are seized with terror and withdraw.'

This sense of right and justice is even more characteristic of the British people to-day—and that is why they see injustice even where there is none. True, the Treaty of Versailles was no masterpiece; it contained many stupid and hard provisions; but to look upon the Nazis as the defenders of Right and the avengers of injustice is to misunderstand the facts completely.

Long before the Nazis came to power a philosophy opposed to that of Kant had gained a considerable influence. We need only think of Nietzsche, who prophesied a martial age, a new heroic era, a new master race, a new Caesarism. Oswald Spengler (author of '*The Decline of the West*') described the striving for world peace and humanity as a product of a tired Europe. In Spengler's eyes humanity had no purpose, no ideas, no

plan, just like the reproduction of the butterfly or the orchid. To him, in contrast with Kant, humanity was not an end in itself, but merely an empty word, a phantom. He praised war as the creator of all great things. This philosophy of Nietzsche and Spengler had taken a strong hold in Germany, and all the Nazis have done, through their primitiveness and brutality, is to accelerate the process. Of course I do not mean that the Nazis have occupied themselves with any sort of philosophy. A gangster is a gangster by nature and does not require to know the philosophical thesis of a Nietzsche or Spengler in order to motivate his actions.

As I have said, not even the most conciliatory attitude on the part of the Western Powers could have influenced the policy of the Nazis, which was based on force and on those three maxims which Kant in his 'Perpetual Peace' condemns and describes as follows :

1. *Fac et excusa* : Seize a favourable opportunity to take possession by force, the justification will . . . produce itself after the act. (Followed by the Nazis in the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Norway, etc.)

2. *Si fecisti, nega* : If you yourself have committed a crime . . . deny that it is your fault. (This method of base libel and hypocrisy has never in modern times been employed so brazenly as by the Nazi Party.)

3. *Divide et impera* : . . . if it is a matter of other countries, the instigation of disputes between them is a fairly certain method, under the pretext of helping the weaker, to subjugate them one after the other. (The Nazis have carried out this formula repeatedly.)

The Fall.—Jean Paul, an important German poet, wrote to a theological friend, on July 13, 1788, as follows : 'Kant is not the light of the world, but a whole radiant solar system.'

Providence had given this 'solar system' to the German people. The high place which they occupied among civilised nations they owed to Kant—and they were bound to lose it as soon as they turned away from Kant. Under the Nazis this abandonment of Kant has been so complete that the Germany of to-day cannot be regarded as a civilised country. Even Germany's worst enemy could not have dishonoured her more than Hitler and his gangster colleagues have done. The decline from

Kant to Hitler probably represents the worst fall that any nation has ever experienced.

The footpad theory of the Nazis (the stealing of 'Lebensraum,' regardless of the rights of others), their assumption, the product of a primitive, uncultured mentality, that the German people are *the* 'master race' of the earth, their doctrine that what is useful to the German people (in reality to their Nazi leaders) is right, their absolute faith in force—all these are milestones on the downward path into moral nihilism.

✓ In the deep depression which the calamity of a great nation must cause in the hearts of all decent men, we must seek comfort with Kant, who wrote: 'It is Nature's irresistible will that right should prevail in the end.'

In the light of this sentence the struggle which Britain is to-day waging against the most criminal system that ever empowered itself of a country and of the energies of a nation possesses a special significance. It was John Milton who firmly believed that if there were a difficult task to perform upon the earth God would choose the British to perform it. Well, the choice appears to have been made once more. The British people are again confronted with a difficult task: to defend the treasures of Western and Christian civilisation against criminal barbarism.

If, as Kant wrote, Providence wills the triumph of Right, then the outcome of the struggle cannot be in doubt.

E. MULLER-STURMHEIM.

Art. 8.—THE AUTHOR IN WAR TIME. ✓

PERHAPS only those in and behind the scenes in publishing have a clear and balanced conception of the problems and perplexities which war has imposed on the majority of those men and women who have chosen authorship as a means of livelihood. The rather stale gibe that authors and publishers are natural enemies is absurd and patently untrue. For all practical purposes they are interdependent, in the sense that neither publishers nor authors can function efficiently if mutual confidence and cooperation are lacking. If some publishers sometimes allow themselves to depreciate the work and worth of their authors, it is equally true that many authors frequently underestimate the labour and imaginative enterprise of their publishers. There would be, I think, less nonsense spoken and written concerning the commercial rapacity of publishers and the commercial innocence of authors if it were more generally appreciated that the contracting parties, when all is said and done, are engaged in a transaction which is essentially in the nature of a gamble. Precognition of public taste in literature has never developed beyond a little intelligent anticipation, and even this paltry mental minimum almost invariably proves to be painfully fallible. In other words, authorship and publishing are at the best of times hazardous professions. In war time they are positively precarious.

I doubt whether authors themselves are fully cognisant of the many factors which have contributed to the economic upheaval of publishing under war conditions. Necessarily and inevitably, authors are mainly interested professionally in the publication of *their own books*. They are individualists, and, as such, are most conscious of their own individual literary successes and misfortunes. Publishers, on the other hand, are in a very real sense collectivists, and are primarily interested in the commercial exploitation of literature in terms of an aggregate annual output of approximately fifteen thousand new books. They are, therefore, bound to envisage war-time problems in the light of their effect on publishing economy *generally*. They see the present publishing scene as a whole, and in that vivid panorama they cannot fail to observe the rugged contours of a disrupted and impoverished authorship.

Frankly, my main objects in this summary are to focus attention on the painful fact that there is widespread unemployment in the ranks of professional writers, and to posit that much of this unemployment is as unnecessary as it is wasteful. Equally frankly, I have no patience, and certainly no sympathy, with those authors who seek to place the blame for their inactivities on the shoulders of the publishers. The fact is, of course, that the publishing industry has strenuously fought a *winning* battle for survival since the dark days of the autumn of 1938. It is not generally appreciated that *rumours* of war are even more disastrous to the economics of publishing than war itself. Rumour, which at once attracts and distracts the public mind, is the bugaboo of both publishers and authors. For, while it is true that war necessarily modifies publishing policy, it is no less true that rumours of war stagnate it altogether. Indeed, there is a practical sense in which it would be proper to state that the book industry is only now beginning to recover from the economic depressions of the intermittent crises which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. These depressions, or economic consequences of the pre-war war of nerves, were particularly disastrous to *all* publishers and to many authors. In this connection, one fact will serve to reveal the many tragedies buried beneath the debris of political upheavals which finally precipitated what may probably prove to be the most horrible war in all the bloody history of human conflict. It is this.

Books conceived, written, and scheduled for publication long before the major crisis of September 1939 were postponed any number of times, with the inevitable result that, while a small selection of them has now seen, or may ultimately see, the light of publication day, many more—the vast majority—have been permanently ‘scrapped’ because their commercial possibilities have been irrevocably destroyed by the war. These early literary casualties have involved their victims and their publishers in financial losses which scientific accountancy dictates must be written off as bad debts. There is, unfortunately, no other practical solution of this particular problem. And therefore it has come to pass that many hard-working authors have been called upon to bear a dual misfortune. On the one hand, they have been

compelled, through circumstances quite beyond their control, to sacrifice potential royalties on work undertaken and completed during many months immediately preceding the war, and, on the other hand, they must now reconcile themselves to the gloomy prospect of partial, if not total, unemployment as professional writers. The first, as I have implied, is, like the war itself, a regrettable necessity. The second, most definitely is inexcusable stupidity on the part of those Governmental departments which in a large measure have so far shown little practical awareness of the fact that in a war of ideas the men and women who can express them are national assets. I will permit myself further comment on this aspect of the problem in a moment ; but, as I believe that comprehensive appreciation of the present deplorable situation of authorship is largely dependent on a clear recognition of the fact that publishers and authors are interdependent, it will be helpful, I think, briefly to summarise the war-time perplexities of the publishing industry.

A short time ago a well-known publisher confessed to me that 'there never was a moment when I was less clear what kind of books interest the public—I could use my experience to *prove or disprove any theory*.' I believe this statement truthfully reflects the anxiety and uncertainty in the minds of publishers generally. The exasperating problem of what the public wants is made more, rather than less, intricate under war conditions. And this is true despite the fact that there exists abundant evidence in support of the contention that the people who are thinking are reading and the people who are reading are thinking. Indisputably, people who rarely or never thought or read seriously in their lives before are now stimulated by the impact of events to take stock of what the war is about and what precisely is their part in it. Indeed, it can be confidently affirmed that substantial sections of the population have only just become aware that they *can read*, and the knowledge and the experience alike have at once amazed and delighted them ! This potentially satisfactory state of affairs in the world of books is cruelly paradoxical. It implies the existence of a hungry reading public clamouring to be fed by a publishing industry so dislocated by the exigencies of war

that neither it nor its indispensable co-partners, the authors, can function normally.

It is an axiom in publishing circles that the book trade is one of the first to reflect the detrimental consequences of wars, and of the crises which precipitate them, and one of the last industries to recover from them. Past and present experience fully justifies this depressing generalisation. I stress this fact now because it serves to emphasise the point that the present retrenchment in publishing activity began at least eighteen months before the declaration of war. As I have previously indicated, the livelihood of many authors was seriously jeopardised in the first few weeks of hostilities, when publishers had no alternative but to announce a more or less indefinite postponement of publication of the greater part of their autumn 1939 programme. Then (and to some extent even now) the major difficulty lay in finding a safe answer to the dangerous question, 'What to publish?'

To-day that difficulty is, perhaps, relatively less baffling than the immediate practical difficulties involved in the production, exploitation, and distribution of books which are presumed to have commercial prospects in terms of war-time reading. Manufacturing costs have increased greatly and no one doubts that they will continue to advance in the months ahead. The collapse of Norway, and the necessity for limiting imports of 'pulp' from other countries across the seas in order to release shipping-space for vital food necessities and armaments, have seriously restricted every phase of publishing productivity. Paper which at the outbreak of war cost threepence per pound is now fluctuating between sixpence and sevenpence. All other items of book production—composition, machining, binding, blocks, etc., have similarly, though perhaps not quite proportionately, advanced *in sympathy*! Worse still, paper is drastically rationed. And if we may posit from a precedent established in the first Great War to end War it will be safe to prophesy a progressive increase in costs and a retrogressive decrease in supplies of most of the raw materials used in book production. The popular illustrated books, the texts of which provide so many writers with a safe medium for the acquisition of precious guineas, are, I fear, bound to decline in quantity and quality,

since art paper, inks, colour printing, and metal blocks are particularly susceptible to 'market fluctuations.'

Unfortunately, rising manufacturing costs represent only one aspect of war-time publishing problems. There are many others, and all of them contribute to 'these present discontents' in the commercial world of books. For example, depleted staffs due to periodic registration for military service; road and rail goods transport limitations; the ever-increasing difficulties of providing adequate advance book salesmanship through the agency of the publisher's traveller, whose itinerary is now inconveniently limited by the operation of petrol rationing; the drastic curtailment of press space for book reviews, which is calculated to impair the efficiency and effectiveness of book propaganda generally; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's urgent request for less spending and more lending in the national interest. In the long run it may well prove to be the case that the last-named of these several problems has most seriously undermined the economy of both authorship and publishing. Directly there is a call for national economy people proceed to economise in the wrong things. One thing is incontestable: people are economising on luxuries, and as it is a regrettable fact that many of them accept books only as luxuries it follows that the book industry cannot escape the repercussions of war-time national economy. War or no war, it cannot be denied that, as a nation, we have never been conspicuously liberal as *book-buyers*. Contrariwise, we can take comfort from the knowledge that the nation's appetite for reading is now insatiable, and this hunger is reflected in the enormous sales of *cheaply-priced books* and in the colossal circulations of books borrowed through public and subscription libraries. Unfortunately, as every author knows, the sales of cheap books and library circulations do not, generally speaking, add appreciably to royalty revenues. In any case, the former is strictly limited by paper rationing, and the latter merely enhances literary prestige in the sense that an individual book is circulated to a maximum number of readers, averaging forty persons per book, for which the author must be content to receive a royalty based on *the sale of a single copy*!

In this brief analysis I cannot enlarge on the minor

problems which harass both author and publisher in war time. But it is obvious to all those who are concerned to maintain a vigorous and substantial output of new books that considerable dislocation in the complex mechanism of book production and distribution must necessarily follow from the cumulative effect of such difficulties as the limitation of shopping hours caused by black-out restrictions and air-raids; the upheaval and migration of large sections of the public from danger zones to comparative safety; extended 'summer' time; and drastic encroachments on leisure imposed by patriotic obligations to serve the country in the many phases of A.R.P. and social services generally. There is, however, one problem which demands a special word of explanation. I have solid grounds for believing that it has led to misunderstanding among all sections of the reading public, and even in the ranks of authors themselves. I refer to the *compulsory* war risks insurance of stocks, which undoubtedly imposes heavy financial liabilities on every branch of the book industry—except authorship! The scheme applies to all stocks of books, new and *old*. I stress the latter category in the hope that it may assist many authors and all the reading public to appreciate why some *pre-war* manufactured books have not escaped advancement in publication prices. In this connection, it is propitious to point out that as the turnover on book-stock is usually disconcertingly slow, the all-in costs of production of each individual book are automatically increased. The insurance, for all practical financial purposes, is a charge on capital. Exactly how burdensome this charge is can be estimated from the admission of a well-known London bookseller, who assured me that his firm is paying under this head an annual charge of nearly £750. Admittedly, this particular firm is one of the largest retail booksellers in the country, but, even so, the figure quoted is, for obvious reasons, relatively small when compared with the sums disbursed for war risks insurance by several of the larger publishing houses.

Unless I have lamentably failed to impart clarity to this résumé of war-time publishing, it must surely provide an effective answer to the criticism made in some quarters that publishers are profiteers, and that if they had been less precipitate in adopting a policy of advanced publication

prices there would be at the moment far less distress among authors. The present rise in prices (roughly 15 per cent.) is merely an earnest of even greater increases in the future. The truth is that war-time publication prices will never synchronise with the steady and inexorable increases in production and distribution costs—*there is a time-lag that always favours the book buyer*. In other words, books are still relatively cheap, but not cheap enough to meet the growing demands of the man in the street whose purchasing power is, unfortunately, strictly limited.

If I were challenged to summarise the present situation in the book world, I think I should be inclined to state that what really is remarkable about it is the fact that authorship and publishing, despite all the real and potential difficulties, have so far succeeded in waging a *winning* war for survival. And, again, if I were asked to advance evidence for this apparent optimism I should not hesitate to cite the industry's recent successful fight against the Chancellor of the Exchequer's intention to include books, newspapers, and periodicals in the provisions of the Purchase Tax. It was a magnificent and most significant victory in the battle of the books. At long last the 'powers that be' are willing to recognise that authorship, and publishing in all its ramifications, are national assets in peace and war. If, therefore, as we are now entitled to hope, authors, journalists, publishers, booksellers, librarians, and newsagents are to be encouraged to pursue their respective vocations *because, first and foremost, their several functions contribute to the national war effort*, it follows that there is reasonable prospect that the book industry generally will not lack adaptability in formulating an economic policy to meet the maximum demands of a reading public which is now fully convinced that low purchasing power is a regrettable necessity if the nation as a whole is to avoid the worst economic consequences of inflation. The problem presents a paradox. For, despite the shortage of raw materials and its corollary, a gradual but persistent rise in prices, the industry's urgent task is to create, produce, and distribute more books and cheaper books. Admittedly, the task bristles with difficulties, but if I know anything at all about the industry in which I have so far directly and

indirectly spent all my working life, and unless I have grossly over-estimated the capital, brains, and imagination behind it, I am supremely confident that these difficulties are not insoluble.

The war has already conferred on the book industry two vitally important Government concessions. First, the official recognition by the Treasury and the British Council that the maintenance of book exports abroad must be secured, even though it involves a measure of State subsidy; and, secondly, as I have already stated, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's admission that books in war time are indispensable necessities, and, as such, are entitled to preferential treatment. We have worked and waited for a long time for an *official* outward and visible sign that the 'powers that be' are aware that in the realm of ideas books can and do move mountains. In a very practical sense the admission, although belated and to some extent engendered by expediency and urgent circumstance, is profoundly significant and pregnant with potentialities. In a word, the book industry is now by common consent a war industry—an integral part of our moral and spiritual offensive.

This newly-earned, privileged status implies wide and far-reaching responsibilities. The book industry undoubtedly is well fitted to discharge them. But I dare to suggest that the measure of the industry's success in supplying the intellectual and emotional needs of our own reading public, and of the millions of perplexed peoples abroad, will be very largely the measure of the encouragement and cooperation forthcoming from the various official bodies in this country whose duty it is to disseminate throughout the world the war aims and peace aspirations of the British Empire. And there, I am afraid, is the rub!

To begin with, no one behind the scenes in publishing is entirely satisfied with the present situation. Publishers generally are hard put to it to strike a working compromise between a necessarily restricted output of normal production and the progressively increasing special demands created by the war and by the need for informative, dynamic propaganda. Normal production can perhaps take care of itself, for only those books of general reading interest which can successfully attract and hold

the attention of a war-conscious public have the remotest chance of publication at the present time. In other words, the production of essentially peace-time books is now strictly limited. But if publishing and bookselling are to continue on a full-time basis, other sources directly concerned with the nation's war effort must be exploited. Unfortunately, every publisher knows to his cost that books which have been written frankly from a propagandist angle are almost invariably commercially unsound, unless it be that those whose interest and duty it is to publicise them are willing and competent to co-operate in their exploitation. Propaganda is unquestionably a legitimate field for publishing activity. The need for it at the present moment is as great as it is urgent, but to the best of my knowledge and belief little, if any, machinery exists by which, and through which, a steady output of such literature could be *economically* conceived, produced, and circulated. Government wants it: authors are willing and ready to write it. What is at present sadly lacking is a cut-and-dried scheme which envisages publishing as an obvious and ready-made instrument for the production and distribution of direct and indirect literary propaganda. But this is self-evidently a task that cannot be undertaken without the existence of a guarantee that there will be active cooperation between the Government departments which want this material and the publishers and writers who can provide it.

During the 1914-1918 war—and particularly during its later phases in 1916-1918—the various Governmental departments did, however reluctantly, link up with publishing activity. We had world-famous authors, such as H. G. Wells and the late Arnold Bennett, inspiring and controlling important aspects of international war propaganda. Lord Beaverbrook and the late C. F. G. Masterman keenly appreciated that publishers and authors were among their strongest and most efficient collaborators. Nor was this working partnership confined to a few authors and publishers and the Ministry of Information. From my own personal knowledge I can record the fact that the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Royal Air Force were equally keen to enlist the services of publishers, publicists, authors, and artists. But even in those days I always felt—and I know many

publishers shared my feelings—that the publishing industry could and would have performed even greater national service if the ‘ powers that be ’ had been ‘ quicker off the mark ’ in their contacts and active cooperation.

To-day, the pregnant facts of the situation are, first, that an intensive broadening of propaganda in its widest and deepest sense is an urgent national necessity; secondly, that the existing well-organised machinery of publishing and bookselling is obviously a first choice as a medium for its expression and dissemination; thirdly, that existing contacts between the book industry as a whole and the Governmental ministries and departments concerned with propaganda, at home and abroad, should be strengthened, expanded, and intensified; and, lastly, that there exists at the present moment greater unemployment than need be among writers who are competent and willing to apply their professional skill to the dual task of stimulating and inspiring our people at home and presenting our case impartially and convincingly for the consideration and judgment of friends and enemies abroad. In this connection I am anxious to avoid overstatement. The present situation of authorship is unquestionably unsatisfactory, but it could be worse. On the other hand (and this is my point) it could be infinitely better. For while it is true that younger and able-bodied authors have found temporary salvation, and, I hope, permanent consolation for the loss of precious years of authorship, by joining the Fighting Services, and while we must recognise that the ‘ lucky few ’ among older and established authors have been absorbed into the various War Ministries, it nevertheless is a fact that there is a considerable body of men and women writers who, for want of opportunity and practical encouragement to make a *literary* contribution to our war effort, are now virtually wasting their talents.

Here, unquestionably, is a major task of urgent national importance. Authors and publishers must pool their artistic and commercial resources, and exploit them cooperatively. Probably, the existing machinery of the National Council for the Support and Defence of Books is adequate for our needs. It has already made valuable contacts with Government, and is, therefore, in a favoured position to press the claims of authors and publishers

who, each and all, only ask for the opportunity to serve the nation in its emergency. If, as we believe, it was wise and just to preserve the printed word from the provisions of the Purchase Tax, is it now too much to ask that every facility be granted whereby the printed word can prevail in this titanic struggle for the preservation of Christianity and democracy?

It is noble work, and it is also work of vital national importance. Industry generally is in process of transformation in order to meet the *material* demands of war. The book industry has a rightful place in this transition. It certainly is competent to meet the spiritual, intellectual, and recreational needs of war. These needs, so long as the war lasts, and long afterwards, can best be satisfied by a steady and continuous flow of current literature. We know, and the whole civilised world knows, to what depths the Totalitarian States have prostituted propaganda. We know, and all the civilised peoples of the earth know, that such propaganda cannot safely be ignored. The British case for Christian democracy must be made, and must be heard and comprehended, if civilisation, and all that it implies, is to emerge from the conflict vindicated and reaffirmed. In short, this is a war of conflicting ideas and ideals, and, in the circumstances, a publishing industry working half-time and the ranks of authorship riddled with unemployment are tantamount to an admission that, as a people, we are committing the supreme folly of conquering our enemies and beating ourselves.

CECIL PALMER.

Art. 9.—SOME ASPECTS OF MINING REFORM.

THE way of reformers is hard. They incur the active hostility of those whose interests will be adversely affected by the proposed reform, and are often treated with disdain and suspicion by the class which is likely to benefit.

Legislation in this country is based on the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. It is an axiom that in the result some person or persons must suffer. And to the extent that these persons are powerful or influential so will the wind be tempered, and a compromise effected 'just enough to please one side and not too much displease the other,' as was said by the sponsor of a Bill through Parliament on a memorable occasion.*

The champions of reform, by studying their subject from the opposition standpoint, are equipped to counter any objections that may be forthcoming. It is when the beneficiaries-to-be throw cold water on the project that they become dismayed, and even lose heart. I propose in this article to present: (1) instances of hostility from unexpected quarters; (2) evidence of the indifference of successive Governments to the mine-workers' safety and well-being; (3) reasons for the speeding-up of progressive mining legislation noticeable of late years.

For centuries coal-miners were subjected to very harsh laws. They were denied privileges readily extended to other workers. In Scotland they were practically serfs; chattels of their employers. They could not remove themselves without permission, which was seldom granted. An Act of 1799 which made all miners free labourers, i.e. made them free to offer their services to anyone, should have been generally welcome. It was not. Sir Walter Scott, speaking of the new measure, said:

'They (the miners) are so far from desiring or prizing the blessing conferred on them that they esteem the interest taken in their freedom to be a mere device on the part of the proprietors to get rid of what they call "head" or "harigald" money, payable to them when a female of their number, by bearing a child, made addition to the live stock of their masters' property.'

* Regulation and Inspection of Mines Act, 1860.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, coal-mining was a growing industry. As a result accidents increased. Explosions became frequent. The safety-lamp was invented and brought into use, and the miner would surely welcome this friend with all his heart and with both hands. But not so. There was a fly—several flies—in the ointment: (a) The light was very poor. (b) A bonus, sometimes amounting to twenty guineas, had hitherto been paid to miners for working in gassy places. This was now withheld on the plea that with the safety-lamp there was no longer any danger from gas. Coal, hitherto unworked because dangerous, was now worked, the viewers * taking 15 per cent. of the profits of working, while the miner got nothing. (c) By 1829 it was proved that more explosions and loss of life had occurred in the fifteen years after the introduction of the safety-lamp than in the fifteen years previous. This caused further dissatisfaction, and a Mr Murray, in 1835, called the Davy lamp ‘a deadly little implement.’ In a memorial to the Queen in 1844 he calls the lamp ‘an ignis fatuus that lures to destruction; the knell of multitudes sacrificed at the shrine of a false security.’

Dislike of the safety-lamp prevailed over many years. In 1890, after the Llanerch † colliery explosion, whereby 176 persons were killed, it was sought to substitute safety-lamps for the open lights, but the proposal was strenuously resisted by the miners for two years. At Malago Vale mine, near Bristol, the miners struck work for one and a half years for a like reason. They argued that the inferior light of the safety-lamp affected their personal safety as well as their earning power. To compensate for these drawbacks they demanded a 10 per cent. increase in their wages. This the employers would not grant.

The Act of 1842, which forbade female labour in mines, was looked upon with disfavour by the women; and when, later, several managers were prosecuted for conniving to defeat the Act, their defence was that it was almost impossible to keep out the women. In some cases they had to fix a locked hatchway at the entrance to the pit, and in another case a trustworthy man was set

* The equivalent of the present colliery manager.

† Monmouthshire

to watch the top of the stair * pit. In all these instances the workers felt that the reforms deprived them of something material to their livelihood.

Dr Elliott, of Newcastle, in 1841, pointed out the need of baths for colliers, explaining, among other reasons, how the housewife would be relieved when dirt was not brought home. To the miner the project afforded no glamour. About seventy years later we find the first of a few pithead baths erected in certain parts of England and Scotland. This much-needed reform was treated with indifference. In 1916 the first pithead bath in South Wales was opened at the Ocean Colliery, Treharris. The accommodation was for 750, but for the following ten years it was not fully utilised. In 1925, in the whole of Britain, there were bathing facilities for only 2 per cent. of the workers concerned.† Since then, however, much progress has been made, due mainly to the ample funds available for the purpose. There are now well over 300 baths, affording accommodation for more than 60 per cent. of the workers concerned.

The introduction of coal-cutting machines in the early 'sixties of last century was bitterly resented by the miners. Although the 'Iron Collier,' as the machine was first known, relieved the miner of the most laborious and dangerous part of his task, the fact that, attended by only two men, the machine could do the work of six or eight miners, caused fear of unemployment. In those days unemployment insurance and genteel public assistance were undreamt of. Unemployment meant starvation or parish relief; the latter a stigma to be shunned by self-respecting folk at all costs.

For the first forty years the progress of the iron collier was slow, as is shown by the fact that in 1901 only three million tons, or 1.4 per cent., of the total output of this country was machine cut. In 1938, 135 million tons, or 59 per cent. of the total output, was cut by machine. The strides made by coal-cutting machines in these thirty-seven years were due partly to a lesser antagonism on the part of the men, but to a greater extent by the exhaustion of the thickest and most easily-worked coal

* A pit equipped with ladder-ways.

† All workmen underground, and all on the surface who handle the coal, e.g. screening, sorting, and loading into waggons.

seams. Thin seams, often hard and adhering to the roof and floor, could not profitably be worked by hand labour. It was an economic problem. The miner must be provided with a living wage, and if his output of work was small, the cost of production rose to a point at which the consumer protected himself by using as little coal as possible. The machine could save the situation; the alternative was to close the pit. Colliery managements have often been faced with such problems, and it is well to point out that not only workmen, but also the under-officials, have often been passive—even active—resisters to the new dispensation. A colliery manager, full of enthusiasm, possessed of unswerving faith in the possibilities of the machine and determined to make it a success, has sometimes discovered that his officials provided the wet blanket to his efforts. The machine never ran satisfactorily; something or other was going wrong all the time, and they were never in a hurry to rectify matters. In fact, what they hoped for was to 'see the d—d thing back on top of the pit and scrapped; the sooner the better.' Seeing this, the manager has taken the bold course of changing his officials for men who were enthusiasts like himself. The step taken was justified, and success followed.

But at least let us be fair. The workers were not the only obstructionists. Coal-owners and their managers were well versed in the gentle art of impedance. Many measures of reform were rejected, or at best indefinitely postponed, through their influence in high places. Moreover, they had less excuse for their hostility than had the workers. The latter feared the gaunt spectre of idleness, with the consequent privation and suffering.

Shot-firing by electricity was long opposed by pit sinkers, who preferred the less safe method of lighting the fuses with red-hot pokers. Sinkers also preferred a wet pit to a dry one. They feared that if pit-sinking became safe and comfortable, more men would seek employment thereat, and wages would be lowered.

When, in 1872, Parliament granted the men power to appoint two of their own number to inspect the mine on their behalf, and report thereon, the privilege was not enthusiastically received. They said: 'If, as a result of our inspection, we make a report unfavourable to the management, we may lose our jobs.' In fact, to this day,

inspection on behalf of the men, by themselves, has not been outstandingly popular. So far as can be ascertained from the official reports for the last fifteen years, about one in every eight mines in Great Britain has been inspected by the workmen. The Northern Inspection Division is highest with one mine inspected in every three, and the Midland Inspection Division is lowest with one mine inspected in every seventy.

Proposed legislation must be presented to Parliament in the form of a Bill, to be debated by the House. At certain stages of the proceedings the Bill is submitted to a vote of members; this decides its fate—to go forward or be thrown out. Now and then the underlying principle of a Bill is deemed acceptable, but further details are desired; and so a Departmental Committee or a Royal Commission is appointed, with power to collect fuller information. It is a frequent taunt that Royal Commissions and the like are convenient devices for shelving awkward problems for an indefinite period. There is some ground for the allegation, e.g. the Royal Commission of 1879; the Water Danger in Mines Committee of 1924, whose findings have not yet been implemented; the Royal Commission on mine safety appointed in 1936—its report, issued 600 days after completing the taking of evidence, now awaits further notice.

Looking through the records of mining legislation for the last 100 years, it must be confessed that the Government in power, of whatever colour, has not been over-ready or anxious to ameliorate the lot of the miners. Many of the reforms secured have been forced through by the dogged persistence and agitation over many years of men of knowledge, courage, and foresight. The classic example of the obstructionist is, of course, the Marquis of Londonderry, who fought, tooth and nail, the Ashley Bill of 1842. On the clause forbidding the employment of women below ground he said some seams required the employment of women. On the proposed State inspection of mines he declared it intolerable interference; and added: 'As a colliery owner I would say to such inspector, "there is the pit, and you may go down how you may; and when you are down you may remain there."' He went on: 'If this Bill is passed, collieries will have to

close down, owners will be ruined, and the workhouses will be full of starving women and children.' It is only fair to say that later generations of this noble House have done a great deal to redeem the perverse attitude of their ancestor.

The House of Lords was not behindhand in blocking and chopping tactics. For example, when considering the Act of 1855 in Committee, the Lords added to it prescribed penalties for breaches thereof. This, of course, was very proper; punishment should follow transgression. But the Lords showed unworthy bias by imposing (comparatively) light fines on the coal-owners and (comparatively) heavy fines, together with imprisonment, on the workmen offenders. The Mines Regulation and Inspection Act of 1860 was so mutilated and altered in the House of Lords that when it was returned to the Commons it was complained that 'the House of Commons had carefully considered the clauses of the Bill for sixteen hours, and the whole of their work was undone by the House of Lords in sixteen minutes.'

As time goes on most of us, individually and collectively, grow more tolerant of the other fellow; and the House of Lords, by its many judgments in favour of the men in compensation cases brought from the Court of Appeal for its consideration, has, during the last decade or two, ceased to be regarded with the former distrust by the rank and file.

The dilatoriness—to use no harsher term—of successive Governments in adopting much-needed reforms is hard to forgive, and can only be explained by the domination of powerful interests that saw in the proposed changes only increased operating costs, with loss of profits and prestige. I give here some instances in proof: Kenyon Blackwell,* reporting on certain accidents in 1848, said: '... these facts point out the strong necessity for two independent shafts at all coal mines.' Nothing was done until the terrible accident at Hartley colliery in 1862, when 204 persons lost their lives because their only way of escape from the mine was blocked. The outcry that followed, extending from the Queen on her throne to the humblest

* State inspector of mines.

in the land, forced Parliament to pass a Bill, five months later,* making it unlawful to work a mine without two outlets from each seam. Thus fourteen years had to elapse since Mr Blackwell's report, and this tragedy had to take place, before suitable safeguards were adopted.

Thomas Duncombe, in 1847, introduced a Bill to abolish the use of gunpowder in gassy mines. It was thrown out. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, reporting in 1867, also recommended its abolition. It was all in vain. Another generation was to pass before its use in gassy and dusty mines was prohibited by law after January 1, 1898, i.e. half a century after Duncombe's appeal.

As far back as 1860 the miners expressed a wish to have sub-inspectors of mines appointed, these to be selected from their own ranks ; but to no purpose. For fifty years the proposal, frequently renewed, met with the unpromising opposition of owners and officials ! In 1911, the first batch of fifteen sub-inspectors was appointed, followed by a second fifteen in 1912.

A Minister of Mines was proposed in 1860. After a breathing-space of sixty years, the first Secretary † for Mines was appointed in 1920.

The question of rescue apparatus for use in mines was discussed in the Commons in 1850. G. B. Forster, in 1882, proposed the use of the Fleuss apparatus. Dr Haldane, in 1896, in his report to the Home Secretary on 'The causes of death in colliery explosions,' advocated the provision of rescue and ambulance appliances at mines ; but the Home Office rejected the advice. In 1902 the matter was referred to the mines inspectors, who reported that the compulsory provision of rescue and aid apparatus at mines would at that time be premature. But the Courrières explosion ‡ in 1906 brought things to a head. The excellent service rendered by German and French teams equipped with rescue apparatus during the weeks following the disaster attracted world-wide notice. And the Home Office got moving, slowly. In 1910 the Mines Rescue and Aid Act received the Royal Assent, i.e. sixty years after the suggestion was first put forward.

* In June 1862.

† The late Lord Bridgeman.

‡ In the Pas-de-Calais coalfield, 1100 lives lost.

In 1797 a Mr Thomas, of Denton, appealed for the setting up of a record office for plans of old collieries, because of the many floodings that occurred from ignorance of the whereabouts of the old workings. We find Seymour Tremenheere,* in his reports for 1848, stressing the need of plans for collieries. Nothing much was done until 1850.

In the early 'seventies the coal-dust peril was being investigated. The many explosions that occurred, and the havoc which resulted, could not be explained away as due to firedamp alone. The late Sir William Galloway was an indefatigable worker on this problem and a firm believer, particularly after his investigation into the Llan colliery † explosion in 1875, that coal-dust was the really dangerous factor in the causation of colliery explosions. He was then State inspector of mines, a pioneer in this research, looked at askance by the coal-owners and frowned on by the Government. It was his misfortune to espouse what was at that time thought a silly fad pursued by scatter-brained enthusiasts. Rather than give up his research he resigned from the inspectorate. Gradually, very gradually, colliery managements became converted to what was then known as the coal-dust theory; and after a time the coal-owners set to work to find a means of allaying the danger, receiving no encouragement from the Government, moral or financial. By a levy on the output of their collieries the Mining Association of Great Britain raised 10,000*l.* for the erection and equipment of the experimental station at Altofts,‡ after seeking in vain some aid from the Treasury, which in the same year (1909) made a grant of 20,000*l.* for the Scott expedition to the South Pole; but—and not the only time §—absolutely declined to help in safeguarding the lives of our mine workers.

About 1870 the miners were much occupied with the movement for an eight-hour working day. The matter

* Commissioner appointed to watch the working of the Act of 1842.

† Glamorgan.

‡ Yorkshire.

§ In 1882, at the request of a Royal Commission of 1879, the Treasury refused 5000*l.* required for demonstration. Again, in 1894, another Royal Commission recommended the erection of a gallery for ocular demonstration of coal-dust dangers at a cost of 10,000*l.* The Treasury again refused to lend the money.

was brought, time and again, to the notice of Parliament by Bills, backed by resolutions and deputations. In 1890 Gladstone and Randolph Churchill were interviewed by a deputation of miners who asked to be granted the eight-hour day. But, as usual, these little matters could not be hurried. After close on forty years from 1870, i.e. in 1908, the eight-hour Act became law.

Scholarship, seventy or eighty years ago, was not considered by the owners to be a *sine qua non* for a successful colliery manager. There was much illiteracy, ignorance, and incompetence among the officials, and the men complained bitterly of the dangers arising from such a state of affairs. After many years of discontent the Act of 1872 decreed that henceforward, i.e. after March 1873, every mine manager must be registered as the holder of a Certificate of Competency, to be granted after examination by, and satisfying, duly-appointed Boards of Examiners. Certificates for under-managers came as an afterthought, fifteen years later.

Explosions continued to happen. In February 1879 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the question of mine safety. This was largely prompted by the fact that in the previous two years 830 people were killed by explosions. The Commission reported in 1886, and many were the gibes hurled by satirists at the Government for the inordinate delay. One of these,* not the most stinging, wrote :

‘ When are the recommendations of the Accidents in Mines Commission to be made known ? And when furnished with these recommendations will the Government which undertook to rescue Gordon from Khartoum display the same alacrity in rescuing the colliers from the dangers of the mines ? ’

Another† wrote suggesting that the Commission had turned inventors, bent on producing a lamp superior to the best of the many safety-lamps submitted to them for tests and inspection. He added : ‘ I must, however, reject the idea because it does not come within the scope of their instructions.’

Most of the recommendations of the Commission were embodied in the Act of 1887, which was an important

* See ‘ Colliery Guardian,’ March 27, 1885.

† See ‘ Colliery Guardian,’ May 15, 1885.

step forward in the safe working of mines. This and many subsequent Acts were merged in the Consolidating Act of 1911, which is still in force, together with a large number of Acts and Orders in Council since passed. Of these, because of its beneficent effect and the amenities provided for the mine worker and his children, the Mining Industry Act of 1920, with its Welfare Scheme, is outstanding as a piece of social reform.

The speeding-up of legislation affecting the health and safety of the mine workers during the last thirty years is remarkable, and far transcends the output of the previous seventy years. There must be good reasons for this, and I make the following suggestions as a likely explanation not far wide of the mark: (1) The Compensation Act of 1897, with its later amendments, caused employers to be more assiduous than ever before in the provision of safety measures; often anticipating legislation. Perhaps, we may add, the growth of a conviction that a contented worker is an efficient worker. And, equally important, healthy and safe conditions of work help to keep a man fit, and so reduce absenteeism. (2) In 1911 Members of Parliament voted themselves * a salary of 400*l.* † per annum. This made possible the entry of working men into Parliament. Often the miner Members are men who have already served their fellows as checkweighers, agents, etc. They receive also a retainer grant from the Federation of Mine Workers on the understanding that they conform with the party policy, which claims to make the miners' interests paramount and to be furthered as much as possible. (3) A quickening of the public conscience, a recognition of the sanctity of human life, leading to a demand for an increasing share in the amenities of life in its broader aspects. This state of mind was probably most in evidence at the close of the Great War period, when the slogan, 'A land fit for heroes to live in,' had not yet become stale—the illusion not yet dissipated. It is understandable that a measure such as the Mining Industry Act, 1920, introduced in such an atmosphere,

* This was done by incorporating the expenditure in the Consolidated Fund Bill of that year. The payment has never been sanctioned by specific Act of Parliament.

† Now 600*l.*

became law with very little opposition, particularly as the cost of its provisions entailed no charge on the Treasury. The undreamt-of benefits provided by Section 20 of the Act were made possible by a levy of one penny per ton on coal output, which for many years produced about one million sterling annually for what is known as 'The Miners' Welfare Fund.'

Some time in the future, when graver issues are resolved, the findings of the Royal Commission of 1936 will no doubt become operative; and it is hoped that, without hampering the industry, further reforms will be effected. Meanwhile it is good to know that owners of collieries, and their officials, are rendering wholehearted support to the 'Safety first, in Mining' campaign. Their attitude will go far to redeem the evils of a policy which held sway far too long in the past; a policy that bred a definite reluctance on the part of youth to take up a mining occupation, and effectively quashed the ambition of many capable young men who sought, by study, to fit themselves for posts of responsibility in the mining profession.

DANIEL DAVIES.

Art. 10.—MODERN GREECE.

AMID the many comments that were made when Greece refused to accept the terms of the Italian ultimatum last October one was generally lacking, and that was admiration for the work of King George II and General Metaxas in securing the unity of their country in its hour of crisis. Greek history, both ancient and modern, abounds in instances of *στάσις*, and there can be little doubt but that Rome hoped that still one more example would aid her designs upon the neighbour with whom she had so recently promised to live at peace. Nevertheless when General Metaxas and his master decided to accept the challenge in no quarter was there any tendency to Medize, and the Italians waited in vain even for the sight of that bright shield on Pentelicus which raised false hopes in the breasts of those other aggressors, Datis and Artaphernes, two thousand five hundred years ago. Greece will doubtless have much to suffer before the power of the Axis is broken, but the memory of the unanimity with which her citizens entered the fight should go a long way to nerve them to victory. Less happy than Darius, the Duce has not found a Hippias to encourage the invader with illusions of facile successes, and the fact is the more remarkable in view of the divided state of Greek opinion for many a long year.

In the past the Greeks suffered because too much was expected of them by the outside world, for if the result was to cause disappointment abroad there were also unhappy repercussions at home. Colonel Napier wrote of the Philhellenes of the War of Independence that they 'came expecting to find the Peloponnesus filled with Plutarch's men,' and they were not alone in their mistake. The great days of Greece were remembered, while the demoralising effect of centuries of Ottoman rule was forgotten, and disillusionment was too often the result. This alternation of hope and despair in the attitude of their foreign friends had unfortunate reactions upon the Greeks themselves. Nor was the attitude of the so-called 'Protecting Powers'—Great Britain, France, and Russia—calculated to stimulate the centripetal forces in Greece. The country was endowed with a Bavarian prince, of the tender age of seventeen, as its

monarch; but when in due course he began to show himself too patriotic a Greek to suit the convenience of the three Powers he was manœuvred off the throne. The Greeks were then denied the successor they wanted, and given yet another youth as their king, Prince George of Denmark. Fortunately he and his dynasty speedily became completely identified with the national interests, but the young kingdom had been given a bad start by its patronising foreign friends.

King George I has never yet received the tribute that is his due. He steered his country successfully through crises, internal and external, which she would never otherwise have been able to surmount, and the hold he possessed over his subjects is proved by the fact that he retained his throne in spite of the defeat of his armies by the Turks in 1897 and of the activities of the Military League twelve years later. He died by the hand of an assassin in the hour of Greece's triumph, and in his political testament he gave to his son some advice which that son's son, the present King of the Hellenes, has most faithfully followed :

Love thy beloved little country with thy whole heart; be bold, but also patient: never be overhasty; rather let the night pass before taking thy decision; be not angry, and let not the sun go down upon thy wrath; be calm in thought and mind, and never forget that thou art King of a southern people, whose wrath and excitability are kindled in a moment, and which at such a moment is capable of saying and doing many things which a moment later it will perhaps forget; and remember that it is often better for the King himself to suffer, even morally, rather than the people, whose interests should take precedence of all others.

Not the least of King George's difficulties was the absence during the greater part of his reign of any Greek statesman of the first rank with the exception of Tricoupis. This remarkable man first conceived the idea of an alliance of the Balkan States to drive the Turk out of Europe without the assistance of the Great Powers, but the plan came to nothing in his lifetime because, as his fellow-countrymen have always believed, it was betrayed by the Bulgarian Government to the Porte at the moment when it was about to be put into operation.

Towards the end of the reign Venizelos emerged from

his native Crete on to the larger stage of Greek politics. For many years he was to be the stormy petrel of the Near East, and he aroused more devotion and more hatred than almost any man of modern times until, after the failure of his last revolt in the spring of 1935, he took refuge on Italian soil. This is not the place to canvass his virtues and vices, but it may be said without fear of contradiction that he possessed two strongly-marked characteristics—he was very difficult to work with, and for him the means justified the end. He was a political gambler, and he gloried in the fact. All the same he and the new King, Constantine, cooperated to the great advantage of their country on the morrow of the overthrow of the Turks, and in the Second Balkan War, after Bulgaria's treacherous attack upon her allies, the Greek army covered itself with distinction in some particularly severe fighting.

How long monarch and minister would have continued to work together in normal circumstances is a moot point, but unfortunately for them and for Greece the Four Years' War soon involved them in the struggles of others. What followed has been the subject of considerable misrepresentation in Great Britain. It is still commonly believed that King Constantine devoted all his energies to sabotaging the efforts of the Allies in the interests of his brother-in-law, the German Emperor, while the Cretan had no other thought than to mobilise the resources of Greece in opposition to the Central Powers. Actually, the situation admits of no such simplification. The King offered to the Allies the plan for an attack upon the Gallipoli Peninsula which had been drawn up by Colonel, now General, Metaxas, but neither he nor the Greek General Staff was ever consulted as to the expedition, although they were expected to cooperate in it. It is therefore hardly surprising that when things began to go wrong King Constantine should have told the British military attaché: 'I have never heard, and I never read, of a more amateurish method of approaching a serious military enterprise than your people employed at the Dardanelles.'

Such candour did little to recommend the Greek monarch to the embarrassed Allies, and the latter retaliated by making him the scapegoat of their blunders.

In this they secured the support of Venizelos, and Greece was soon torn by internal strife. What then occurred is too well known to require detailed description. King Constantine was forcibly deposed by the Allies, among whom France took the lead, and his second son, Alexander, was placed on the throne in his place. The overthrow of the Central Powers promised many benefits to Greece, but on the death of King Alexander his father was restored, and a divided country saw its armies go down to disaster in Asia Minor. Another revolution brought King George II to the throne, King Constantine having abdicated in his favour. By this time Greece was divided from top to bottom between Venizelists and royalists, and in these troubled waters most of the European Powers were fishing. All influence was in the hands of a revolutionary committee, and it occasioned no great surprise when, in 1924, this body overthrew the monarchy itself.

King George II has learnt the lessons of kingship in a very hard school, but no one has ever suggested that his behaviour has been other than that of a patriot and a gentleman. He accompanied his father into the latter's first exile in 1917, and when called to succeed him five years later he endeavoured to make the best of what was really an impossible situation. There were few insults to which he was not subjected, and when King Constantine died at Palermo the Government of the day refused to allow his son even to fly his flag at half-mast on the palace. When the oligarchy that ruled Greece proceeded to sully the country's fame by executing the former commander-in-chief in Asia Minor, together with five ex-ministers, the King determined to leave, and was only dissuaded by the representatives of Great Britain and France. Meanwhile the Greek people were becoming tired of the revolutionary committee, and in October 1923 General Metaxas put himself at the head of a movement for a return to constitutional government. It was, unfortunately, premature, and was crushed. Although the republican party, which had recently come into existence, failed to secure anything approaching a majority at the ensuing elections the Government requested the King to absent himself from the country during the meeting of the National Assembly which was to decide the future

of the dynasty. The monarch complied with this request to avoid bloodshed, and departed for Rumania, though without abdicating any of his rights.

A few weeks later the National Assembly proclaimed the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a parliamentary republic. This decision was subsequently ratified by a plebiscite; but in spite of every sort of official pressure nearly a third of those voting declared for the fallen regime, and the question was clearly not finally settled. The Greek republic lasted for ten and a half years, and on the political side its career was stormy. For a brief period there was also a dictatorship under Pangalos, but he was generally felt to have exceeded the limits even of dictatorial power when he attempted to prescribe the length of women's skirts, and compelled the police to equip themselves with tape-measures in order to see that his commands were obeyed. Nevertheless, throughout the republican period the dominant figure was that of Venizelos, whether in or out of office. No impartial person can deny that the Cretan statesman did much for Greece, and all over the country one comes across evidence of his foresight. On the other hand he was an inveterate intriguer, and long before his death he had become a liability to his fellow-countrymen. As he grew older he was increasingly surrounded by an entourage who always represented a situation to him as he wanted it to be, until in the end he became the victim of his own 'wishful thinking.' As has already been mentioned, one of the curses of modern Greece has been that so many of her leaders have passed their early years in opposition to an Oriental despotism, and the political habits and outlook thus acquired have remained unaltered for the rest of their lives. So it was with Venizelos, and in old age he reverted to the mentality of his youth. The last public act of the Cretan, namely the mad insurrection of March 1935, was performed in the same spirit as the first—the seizure of Akroteri thirty-eight years before.

By this time the Greek people were growing weary of the instability of the republican regime, and the royalists, whose strength had sunk to less than thirty at the elections of 1928, rapidly gained ground. The revolt in the spring of 1935 accelerated this movement

and the restoration of the monarchy was clearly only a question of time. In Greece itself the pace was forced by General Metaxas, but it was his rival Condylis who was determined to play the part of General Monk. On the other hand King George had no desire to owe his return to military support alone, and he insisted on a plebiscite being held. This gave an overwhelming majority for the restoration, and on Nov. 14, 1935, the King left Brown's Hotel in Dover Street, where he had been living for several years, for the Greek capital.

No sooner had he reached Athens than the wisdom of fortifying his position by a plebiscite became manifest. He demanded an amnesty for all who had been implicated in the rising of the previous March, including Venizelos himself, but this Condylis was unwilling to grant. When he refused to give way the King dismissed him, and thus acquired a good deal of odium in ultra-royalist circles for having broken with the man to whom he owed his crown. This unpopularity was quite undeserved, for Condylis only declared himself a monarchist when he saw that public opinion was coming to favour a restoration, and he was determined that the monarch should be a puppet, with himself as dictator. From the beginning he had played for his own hand, and King George owed him nothing. It must be said in his favour that he took his dismissal with none too bad a grace, but, as he died shortly afterwards, it is impossible to say how long he would have continued to refrain from making trouble.

This action throws a great deal of light upon the King's character, and had Mussolini studied the Greek monarch a little more carefully he might have been spared a very unpleasant surprise five years later. On first acquaintance King George may appear somewhat reserved, and he is not one of those who talk if they have nothing to say. He is extremely level-headed, and the vicissitudes of his life have made him a shrewd judge both of men and of situations. He is possessed of a keen sense of humour, and in spite of all that he has suffered he never betrays a trace of bitterness. To his friends no man could be more loyal. Eminently reasonable, once his mind is made up he is a very pattern of inflexibility, as both Condylis and Mussolini discovered to their cost. Because he lived in a West End hotel and went about a

good deal socially, touching life at many points, King George was often depicted in the British Press as frivolous. Nothing could be further from the truth. He has a very high sense of duty, and his conception of kingship is that of his grandfather. To a friend who congratulated him on his recall to the throne he wrote that he hoped to 'be able to prove worthy, as much as possible, of the new responsibilities.' That is typical of the man. In addition to these natural instincts he has studied from every angle the theory and practice of his royal profession, for he is very well-read, and he acquired much invaluable advice during his exile from his relative King George V of England.

The dismissal of Condylis by no means put an end to the King's troubles. After the amnesty had been proclaimed elections were held, and these proved to be the most honest that the country had ever known. All the same they failed to give either of the leading parties, the Populists and the Liberals, as the former royalists and Venizelists were now termed, a working majority, and as fifteen Communist deputies were returned the less scrupulous Liberals at once began to angle for their support. What then ensued must be narrated in some detail, since it has not always been understood in British circles. The King tried to get a coalition administration into office, and when his efforts in this direction proved a failure a non-party government was installed with first Demerdjes, and, after his death, General Metaxas, at its head. When this had been done the Chamber went into recess for six months. The new ministry contained some able men, but it suffered from not having a free hand, for it was dependent upon a committee of party leaders, while the younger generation of Greeks, to whom it might have hoped to look for support, displayed as a whole no inclination to enter the political arena.

The consequence was an administrative paralysis which soon affected every sphere of the national life. Meanwhile, Communist agitators were active up and down the country, and sporadic strikes, sometimes accompanied by bloodshed, were not infrequent. At the same time it was obvious that the party leaders, who were the cause of all the trouble owing to their refusal to form a coalition, had no following worth the name among the

mass of the people. Matters came to a head at the beginning of August 1936, when the Communists decided that the time was ripe for their intervention, and civil war on the Spanish scale was a distinct possibility. From this Greece was saved by the King, who entrusted General Metaxas with full powers, and thus brought to an end a situation which had become intolerable. The Communists showed no fight once they were faced, and some fifty of them were deported to one of the islands in the *Ægean*. Since then King George has been content to remain rather more in the background, though giving steady support to General Metaxas; but it cannot be too strongly insisted that the failure to make the parliamentary constitution work rested with the politicians who refused to combine in order that the King's government might be carried on. The choice was between a technical breach of the constitution and anarchy.

Although General Metaxas has for many years played a prominent part in Greek politics he has always been a soldier first and foremost. He was trained in Germany, and was highly thought of by the Great General Staff in Berlin in the days before the Four Years' War, but when it came to a choice between a French and a German mission for his own country he chose the former. His was the brain behind the Greek strategy in the Balkan Wars, and had his advice been asked before the Gallipoli expedition was undertaken the result of that unhappy venture might have been very different. In manner he recalls the late General Primo de Rivera, but he is at once more cosmopolitan and more knowledgeable. He is always clear in his arguments, and hates nothing so much as ambiguity. General Metaxas speaks both French and German fluently; he is readily accessible; and, it may be added, he is a master of witty repartee in a land where this gift has never been uncommon. His devotion to the Royal Family is profound, and every attempt to create a breach between him and his master has failed.

Such was the background of revolution, war, and foreign intrigue against which must be set the success of the King and his minister in securing a united country when the Italian ultimatum was delivered. In four short years they had somehow contrived to harness to the service of the state that Greek quality of initiative and

resource which is common in business but is all too rare in politics. Even amid the turmoil of the period which followed the Four Years' War the native adaptability had made it possible for a nation of six million people to absorb a million and a quarter refugees from Asia Minor, a feat which is almost without parallel in modern history. If only the qualities that made this possible can be mobilised in the national interest in other spheres, then the future of Greece when peace comes again should indeed be prosperous.

The internal economy of the country is not always correctly appreciated abroad. There is no native nobility, and the few families that have titles have received them in the past from foreign potentates, often the Doges of Venice. Nevertheless there is an aristocracy, in the etymological sense of the word, which it would be impossible to praise too highly. Limited in numbers, often descended from the heroes of the War of Independence, and much intermarried, it sets an example of philanthropy and public spirit almost without parallel. The amount that is done in Greece by voluntary effort is little short of miraculous: not only, as in England, are hospitals and similar institutions erected by this means, but even roads are built. The Foreign Office was presented to the nation by one rich Greek, and the legation in Paris by another. The Benakis Museum in Athens is a third example of a munificence which it would be hard to equal elsewhere. It only remains to add that the members of this aristocracy are wholly cosmopolitan in outlook, though without ceasing to be patriotic Greeks, and are as much at home in London or New York as in Athens or Alexandria: their wealth being derived from commerce, not from land or industry, they are in Greece itself confined to a few centres such as the capital, Salonika, and Patras.

Except in the larger towns there is neither an upper nor a middle class, and, save for her sailors and fishermen, Greece is a peasant state. Holdings are small, for the large landowners were Turks, and they were expropriated more than a century ago when independence was achieved. To-day there are about 800,000 rural families, and the Metaxas regime has paid special attention to their welfare. According to the official figures for 1936 no less than 1·8

million persons were afflicted with disease out of seven million inhabitants, and the average duration of life was only 34 years, as against 65 in the United States and 55 in Great Britain. Tuberculosis, malaria, and syphilis were the worst scourges, together with cancer, and against these afflictions the Metaxas government commenced a great campaign, of which the beneficial results are already being felt. Large sums of money have been spent upon hospitals, compulsory insurance against illness has been instituted on a family basis, and the Red Cross and other foundations have received large subsidies to enable them to extend their work. In the last resort it is upon the support of the peasant that every Greek government must depend, though there have been times when the noisy clamour of the relatively few townsmen has obscured this fundamental truth.

In foreign affairs the policy of Greece, both under the republic and the monarchy, has been singularly consistent when the violent domestic upheavals of the past twenty years are taken into account. While the League of Nations was still an effective force it had no more loyal supporter than Greece, and no one played a more prominent part in the deliberations at Geneva than M. Politis. Greece was an active member of the Balkan Entente, as befitted the country that gave birth to Tricoupis, the man who first enunciated the policy of the Balkans for the Balkan peoples; if this ideal is temporarily in eclipse the culprits are not to be found in Athens. Above all, Greece has never faltered in her friendship with Great Britain, and she preferred to face all the horrors of war rather than break the ancient ties with the land of Byron and Canning. With two nations in particular has Greece been brought into close contact—Turkey and Italy.

To the last generation it would have seemed impossible that Greece and Turkey should ever become friends, let alone allies, but the unexpected has happened, and the cooperation between the two Powers has been one of the most potent factors in Near Eastern politics. The reason for this diplomatic revolution is to be found in the elimination of the chief cause of friction, namely the minority question. This has been solved by an exchange of populations, and so happy have been the consequences that

it may well serve as a precedent after the present war to be applied in other parts of Europe where there are similar complications. However this may be, Athens and Angora have come very close together, and so long as the potential disturbers of the peace were limited to the Balkan Powers their alliance prevented war in South-East Europe. In particular, Bulgaria was discouraged from pushing too far her claim to Alexandropolis, which, if realised, would have driven a wedge between the territory of the two friends. Prophecy is in the highest degree dangerous in such times as the present, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that when the day comes to undo the mischief wrought in the Balkans by Hitler and Mussolini the basis of any new system must be cooperation between Turkey and Greece. The only possible cause of disagreement is the disposal of the Dodecanese after the expulsion of the Italians, for though the islands are Greek they were taken from the Turks, and never formed part of the Greek kingdom. Nevertheless, the problem should easily be capable of adjustment, given good will on both sides.

With Italy, on the other hand, an ally in the Four Years' War, Greek relations had steadily deteriorated long before the final breach took place. They had never been cordial since Mussolini seized Corfu in 1923, and during the application of Sanctions the Greek Government earned what proved to be the undying enmity of Rome by its loyalty to Great Britain and the League. Curiously enough, the Venizelists were less unfriendly to Italy than the royalists; it has already been shown how Venizelos himself, after his last revolt, escaped to Italian soil, and such being the case it is hardly surprising that Mussolini's complicity in the attempt should have been widely suspected. When Sanctions were applied to Italy the only voice raised against them in Greece was that of Michalakopoulos, the old lieutenant of Venizelos. With the passage of time, however, and the growing realisation of the Italian menace, both Populists and Liberals showed a united front to the common enemy. When the Italians invaded Albania in April 1939, the Greek exiles in Paris, headed by Plastiras, announced that in view of the threat to their country's safety they would abandon their opposition to General Metaxas.

The Italians have certainly never taken any steps to conciliate the Greeks. When King George II visited Rome on his way to England some two years ago Ciano observed to the Albanian minister, 'We have got an English agent coming here next week,' and the remark was typical of the Italian attitude. Since Italy was persuaded by Berlin that Great Britain was her chief enemy her dislike of Greece has redoubled, and Mussolini has come to see in her the main obstacle to the creation of his Mediterranean empire. The Greeks entertain no less unfriendly feelings towards their Italian neighbours, for they have not forgotten the occupation of Corfu and the seizure of Albania, while the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen in the Dodecanese are constantly in their minds. Had anything been required to stimulate their hatred of Italy it would have been the manner of presenting the ultimatum and the bombing of the civilian population, though both were only to have been expected: the attack on Tripoli in 1911, and the use of mustard gas against the Abyssinians, constitute admirable precedents. One thing now is clear, and it is that no Greek will henceforth think his country secure while there is an Italian soldier left either in Albania or the Dodecanese.

For some years past Greece has also had to face the threat of a Bulgarian attack in the rear, for Sofia nourishes a desire for an outlet on to the *Ægean*. She had such an outlet for a brief space before the Four Years' War, but she lost it as one of the penalties of defeat in that conflict. As this claim is now being revived it may not be out of place to state the true facts of the case. Bulgaria maintains that she is justified in her contention by Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly. This is in direct contradiction of the statement of Lord Curzon at the Lausanne Conference in 1922 when he said:

'The creation of an autonomous area at Dedeagatch (Alexandropolis), or of a Bulgarian property there, was never contemplated by the Treaty of Neuilly. Article 48 of that treaty only said: "The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to ensure the economic outlet of Bulgaria to the *Ægean* Sea."'

Lord Curzon went on to advise the Bulgarian representatives to accept the recommendation of the sub-

committee of the conference that a free port should be constructed at Alexandropolis under an international commission, which should also administer the railway connecting the port with the Bulgarian frontier. This proposal, it may be added, was rejected by Sofia.

A year later some English friends of Bulgaria claimed in the correspondence columns of 'The Times' that her 'right to the economic outlet to the *Ægean* Sea guaranteed by Clause 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly' remained 'unsatisfied.' This brought a reply from Mr. Ronald McNeill, later Lord Cushendun, then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the effect that the article in question 'did not mean, and was never understood to mean, that the Bulgarian boundary was to be extended at any point to the coast of the *Ægean*.' Finally, in 1929, Venizelos took advantage of the conference at The Hague to inform the Bulgarian representative that Greece was prepared to grant to Bulgaria in the port of Salonika the same facilities as were enjoyed by Yugoslavia, and he also made it clear that this concession would not imply any claim upon Bulgaria to waive her right under Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly to secure an economic outlet on the *Ægean*. This offer, too, was rejected.

At the present moment, when few treaties are worth the paper on which they are written and when brute force alone sanctifies a claim, this account of Bulgaro-Greek relations may appear academic; but Axis propaganda is very subtle, and no effort has been spared to persuade the public in Great Britain and the United States that Greece would not make any concessions to her neighbour when she had the chance. Nothing, it will be seen, could be further from the truth than such a charge, and if Bulgarian aspirations remained unsatisfied the blame does not rest with Greece.

Many just criticisms have of late been levelled at that lack of accurate information by which British policy has so often been hampered in recent years, but in the case of the Italian attack upon Greece last autumn Mussolini seems to have been singularly misinformed. All the evidence goes to show that he was firmly convinced the Greeks would give way, but what is so extraordinary is that no preparations should have been made in case they resisted. Nor is it easy to see how the Duce expected to

prevent Crete and the other Greek islands from falling into British hands, and thus becoming bases for attack upon Italy, so long as his navy remained in port. The only explanation can be that the Italians achieved both unification and an empire too easily and too quickly, and that they have come to take success for granted. They have never been compelled to fight hard for any of their conquests, and it never occurred to them that the attack on Greece would prove an exception. When the ultimatum was first delivered it was generally assumed abroad that it was as much a German as an Italian move, but it is difficult to reconcile this view with the evident unpreparedness of the Italian armed forces. To hope for the best without preparing for the worst is not the German way of making war, so it is at least possible that the Greek adventure was an attempt on the part of Mussolini to show Hitler what he could do on his own when he had a mind.

Whatever the immediate future may hold in store the lesson of the last eighteen months is plain, namely that the stability and security of the Balkans can only be attained by the pursuit of the old policy of *Tricoupis*, the Balkans for the Balkan peoples. No Western or Central European can travel for long in South-East Europe without becoming aware that there is a common civilisation there which transcends frontiers and differences in customs, language, or race: it is the heritage of the Byzantine Empire perpetuated by the Orthodox Church. The Sultans cared nothing for nationality, and they grouped the *rayahs* by religions, thus, in the case of the Balkan Peninsula, unconsciously preserving a unity which otherwise might well have perished. It is true that to-day the Churches of Greece, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Bulgaria are autocephalous, but this is a late development, and when the Crescent waved over the land from Belgrade to the Bosphorus all the Orthodox Christians were united in obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In a memorable phrase Hobbes declared that 'the Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof,' and the analogy is equally applicable to the relations between the Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire in the case of these four Balkan nations.

It is true that each of them draws its inspiration from other sources than Byzantium. The Rumanian looks back to Michael the Brave, and beyond him to the legions which Trajan settled in Dacia; the Greek rightly claims that Byzantine civilisation was but the latest form of a Greek culture which had its origin in the Athens of antiquity; while the Bulgar and the Serb can never forget their empires of mediæval times. All the same the common ground on which they meet is provided by that Byzantine Empire at which the historians of the West have so often and so unjustly scoffed, but which kept alight the torch of Greek and Roman civilisation when the rest of Christian Europe was plunged in profound darkness. It is the memory of those days which has occasioned that atmosphere which is common, though not easy to define, and which strikes the visitor at once in Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia.

The potentialities of the Balkan Peninsula as an economic unit are also very considerable. There are few of the necessities of life which cannot be produced within the area, water power is available in most districts, and Jugoslavia, Greece, and Rumania all possess admirable harbours. If it be asked why, in these circumstances, only a few hesitating steps have been taken in the direction of an economic union the answer must be that for more than a decade after the Four Years' War all the nations concerned were occupied primarily with their own internal affairs, and that by the time they were free to devote themselves to wider considerations the economic blizzard had begun to blow across Europe; since then there has been little enough temptation to think of peaceful development. Furthermore, it must be admitted that politics played an unduly large part in the calculations of Balkan statesmen when it was still possible to bring about closer economic cooperation, and it is to be hoped that when the opportunity recurs the lessons of past mistakes will be duly taken to heart. If the countries concerned do not hang together the present war has shown that they will hang separately.

If, then, the great hope of South-East Europe in the years to come lies in the practical application of the policy of the Balkans for the Balkan peoples, the qualities which the Greeks are displaying surely mark them out as

fitted to take the lead in any new system that may be set up. Furthermore, that spiritual bond which is the strongest tie between all the nations of the Balkans derives from Greece. In these dark hours, when the forces of evil in Berlin and Rome are striving to set people against people, it may be fanciful to look far ahead, but out of the present chaos may well arise a United States of the Balkans with Athens as its capital.

CHARLES PETRIE.

Art. 11.—BRITAIN AT WAR.

WINTER—the second winter of the dreariest, deadliest war that has ever disgraced the annals of mankind. I have chosen those two adjectives with deliberation, not for their sound but their truth; and I am fully aware that the first at any rate is controversial. When I used it recently to a friend I was immediately taken to task and told that it was not at all reasonable to speak of this war in any way that suggested that it was dull; that was to go back to the state of mind across the Atlantic that a year or so ago tended to think of it as ‘phoney,’ that singular word which, as far as can be judged, implied that our hearts were not in it and that the whole thing was a kind of staged parade which would shortly—and dishonourably—be brought to an end by a compromise which allowed Hitler to retain his swag, or a goodly portion of it, and Britain to pretend that she had kept her word and saved her face. That state of mind belongs to so bygone a period of history that it had not occurred to me that my adjective could at all resurrect it. My interlocutor then went on to declare that it suggested callousness to describe this war as dull when it was bringing such distress of mind and such loss of possessions to so many: and to that my answer was that I had not said ‘dull’ but ‘dreary,’ which is, to my thinking at least, quite a different word—the ‘Oxford English Dictionary’ gives, as its first meanings, ‘cruel, dire, horrid, grievous,’ and this war is all of these.

I therefore continue to maintain that this war deserves both of my two adjectives, and both must be applied simultaneously. As regards the first, the one in dispute, I am put in mind of a pastime, sport, competition (whichever title should be most fittingly applied) that was, I believe, popular at one time in the dour records of Lancashire. It consisted of two combatants standing upright facing one another, and then, after placing hands on one another’s shoulders, kicking each other’s ankles with their heavy clogs until one confessed to defeat: if that is not a dreary form of combat it is difficult to say what is—and it can hardly be doubted that it has some points of resemblance to the warfare of night-bombing with which in the last few months we, and our enemies, have

become familiar. There is, however, another, and an invigorating, parallel upon which it is unquestionably more profitable to dwell, namely, one of the several remarks attributed to the Duke of Wellington on the field of Waterloo. As a Harrovian, I have never thought it well to attach too much importance to his remark about playing-fields—let that be for those who have never wrestled with a football of peculiar and ungainly size on heavy clay—but I have always felt that his 'hard pounding, gentlemen: let us see who can stand it the longest,' had something about it specially characteristic of that British tenacity which is unchanging throughout the ages.

I do not, I hasten to say, use the adjective 'dreary' in any detached, defeatist, or callous sense, but rather as applied truthfully to a state of winter war, started by an enemy without honour, heart, or scruple, which places its worst afflictions on just those sections of a nation's life that throughout all former times were, as far as possible, spared the horrors of war—the poor, the old, and the children. To pass by, as all from time to time must, a shattered cottage or little house once the pride of a humble household and now a mutilation of one of 'those things that go bump in the night,' a home that by no stretch of tongue or pen ever had or could have had the slightest military significance, is to be filled with a deep-seated anger, an unyielding resolve, neither of which are usual to the English temperament. Dreary and deadly—can any one really, after thought, dispute the truth of those two adjectives, as applied particularly to the warfare here and in Germany, that has taken place since my survey of 'Britain at War,' published in these columns in October?

When that was written the daylight air attacks on this island were just developing and being so dramatically and decisively defeated; whilst it was passing through the press the night-raiding of London was begun; by the date it appeared it was obvious to all the world that the *blitzkrieg*, so vaunted, practised with such devastating success against the weak and small, had gone wrong. Throughout all the intervening weeks, day after day and, still more, night after night, our thoughts and our conversation have been directed mainly to the menace from,

and the conquest of, the air. One can hardly pass any two people talking anywhere without overhearing the word 'bomb'; and the bomb-snob has long been in our midst ('we had a 500-lb. one close to us'—'ah, but we had a land-mine!'—'ours was within 30 yards'—'call that close, ours was a direct hit!'—and so on and so forth). At all events it is true that one of the sadnesses of these terrific times is the degree to which we have necessarily been deprived of the simple joys and loveliness of existence: once the visual beauty of the heavens was free to every heart, and now it is watched with very different intent. The change caused me, after an interval of months, to produce four lines of verse:

'I watched the glory of the sky,
The cloudy grandeur of God's breath—
I heard the raiders passing by,
The thudding of their drops of death.'

From this aspect of existence no commentary can get away. 'Mona' and 'Clara' are heard throughout the land, bidding us beware or crying out that we may for awhile go about our businesses as usual—not that that latter adjuration is strictly necessary: one of the marvels of life in, let us say, London (though it applies equally to any of our English cities) is that every one does, to a degree almost unbelievable, go out about their businesses—not perhaps 'as usual' but as nearly that as is possible in whatever the particular circumstances of the day or hour may be: if they cannot go their normal way they go another—but they go. And they are buoyed up in any difficulties, discomforts—and worse—by the knowledge of the gallantry—and the success—of the great and continuing and ever-increasing counter-offensive. Accounts of air warfare, at all events air warfare by night, have about them necessarily a ring of monotony: every day, for instance, we read of 'sticks of bombs straddling' this, that, or the other target, on the so-called 'invasion ports' and the industrial nerves, the ganglions of Germany and of Italy. No journalistic skill could greatly vary the wording of the accounts, only that of the targets, and there is therefore little in these to bring before the reader's mind the real variety; but every reader knows their overwhelming significance and every reader knows

also the heroism and the skill entailed. So much has been written—and not a word unjustly or excessively—about the splendour of our pilots that nothing need here be added ; but, before passing from this, I would like to direct our grateful, our deeply appreciative thought for one sentence to the parents, and perhaps in particular to the mothers, of our pilots. The young men of the Royal Air Force and of the Fleet Air Arm go forth to the greatness of their flights and combats, by day and through the long difficulties of the winter nights—all honour and all glory to some of the most remarkable military achievements of our history ; but let us also remember those who sit at home with such quiet, constant resolution whilst these loved young champions of our freedom are among and above the clouds in danger and in darkness.

From every angle of thought, however dreary the knowledge and sights and sounds of this warfare of destruction from the air may be, and however deadly the destruction, these have been great weeks. We have seen many hundreds of homes ruined, reduced to a pitiful jumble of rubble, we have had rains of fire and every devilish contrivance of terror upon houses and upon industrial undertakings : we have had damage wrought to some of the buildings and places that meant so much for all of us in different ways and degrees—the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral, the Tower of London, Middle Temple Hall, Stationers' Hall, Kensington Palace, Holland House, Liverpool Cathedral, and many another spot where English history, old or in the making, abides : as a people we have suffered as any people were bound to suffer so attacked ; but—and the two facts, both outstanding, are woven together into one solid, indestructible assurance of victory—neither our power nor our spirit has undergone diminution.

It is no part of my purpose in these articles to dwell upon what may be called the temporary features of these tremendous times. It is inevitable that whatever may be written at any particular date may be subject to modification later, and that whatever appears in print has to be written several weeks at least beforehand. This therefore is no commentary upon the tactical and strategical aspects of this all-embracing struggle ; but it is an attempt to pass in review the more lasting features

and effects. It is impossible, however, not to comment upon the unflinching bravery of the English public: from the day when the characteristic headline 'raid stopped play'—early in August when for the first time the air-raiders penetrated as far as Lords—to to-day it has been the admiration, and the wonder, of the world.

Now this is a very odd thing in two ways. First of all it is really—all things, including our history, considered—most surprising that the world should have been surprised. What else did it expect? Did any one who knew the English ever have the slightest doubt of our reaction to this horrible air-bullying? It is odd that people did. I can myself quite well recall talking to a friend from one of our Dominions, a man moreover who had lived in England for many years, who gave it as his opinion—speaking in August—that if the Germans launched air attacks upon our cities and in particular on London we as a people would not have the resolution needful to enable us to stand it. I had entire faith that he was mistaken, but it was idle to say so when immediately coming events would prove one way or the other whether he were or not. Since then they have done so, with an emphasis that needs no underlining.

Secondly it is odd that it is not only our friends but our enemies also who have admitted it. Let me record two tributes widely differing in origin. First, words that I wrote down whilst an air raid was in progress as I travelled by train from London after a day's work in that beleaguered but indomitable city—words written by an American journalist and cabled to his paper in New York: 'One cannot convey the spirit of these people. Adversity only angers and strengthens them. They are tough in a way we Americans can seldom understand. That curious gentility among their men-folk confuses us. We under-estimate them.' Agreeable to read, but nevertheless odd—surely, one would have thought, the English are hardly an unknown people, now coming into the knowledge of humanity for the first time. All through a thousand years, before the New World was dreamed of, it has been true that 'adversity only angers and strengthens us'—and yet it has once again, in 1940, to be announced as a new discovery!

The second quotation I take from our enemy, from

an article in the 'Völkischer Beobachter,' which, I imagine, could not have appeared without Nazi approval: in this it is stated, 'We know the British are no cowards. They are brought up to endure hardness, they can maintain discipline, and they love their country with a romantic and radiant devotion.' Perfectly true, but odd that it was only after the outbreak of that *blitzkrieg* which was utterly to destroy us, mind, body, and spirit, that such knowledge was permitted to be re-asserted.

It is not for us to praise ourselves—it is not our custom, very much the reverse: habitually we decry ourselves and so, perhaps, have misled the watching nations, friends and enemies; but let us at least now recognise the quite astonishing spirit of the very old and the very young. After an air raid on London lasting ten hours I heard an old lady say, as she climbed the stairs that led up from the cellar wherein she had passed a sleepless night, 'You know, we shall miss this after the war.' She then went on communicatively, 'My sister wants me to go into the country, but I wouldn't leave London for anything; I should feel so out of things.' Or can anything equal—or defeat—the cheerful patience of the children one sees everywhere, waiting, waiting in shelters, waiting on platforms, waiting in the Dominions and the United States for the war to end and their home-coming to be in sight. Let me again give two quotations, both from alien sources and so, we may think, dispassionate. The first is from the 'New York Times': 'The passage of a couple of centuries has changed only the details of their dress. The generations of these English town and country houses apparently do not change at all. The persistence of type is remarkable. The young folk in the English fortress of to-day who look up at German bombers in the sky might well be the same children who watched the sails of the Spanish Armada bellying past Plymouth and Dover, serious but not afraid.' And, secondly, the words of a Pole, watching some British children, now in America, at play: 'They were incomparable as, while they had discipline, their eyes were fearless and their manner that of individuals; the Germans and Poles, though disciplined, had fear and trouble in their eyes.'

Finally on this theme of the British reaction to terrorism, as no commentary could be in the least adequate

that made no reference to humour, let me set down the reply I heard a porter give to a lady at a wayside station who asked, not fearfully but quite innocently, why there was a delay in the train-services: 'Well, mum,' he said with great cheerfulness, and as he spoke he jerked his thumb over his shoulder at the waiting-room immediately behind him, 'the truth is we've got a large, unexploded bomb in there, and we're just waiting for it to go off.' Then, as this remarkable information was received without comment, he added impressively, 'It should be any minute now'—at which all his hearers, the lady included, laughed and questioned him no more. Or, for that peculiar blend of valour and humour which is specially English, could one beat this fragment of chat overheard between two school-girls: 'I'm going home.' 'How can you go home when you haven't one to go to?' 'Coo, when Dad came out of the shelter and saw what had happened to our house he thought he was drunk, I give you my word.' (Laughter from both talkers.)

Yes, we have had some 'hard pounding,' but it has never at any time so much as damped the spirit of the British people. And for all the hardness of the pounding, how incomparably little it has been, contrasted with expectation. The figures of the killed and injured have been given—did any one in the whole island think, on Sept. 3, 1939, we should get off so lightly? (I will come in a few moments to the two aspects of the bombing of our cities, London especially, that cry out for remedy.) And let no one suppose just because, nationally, the damage has been so small that, individually, death and destruction are not as grievous as if they were universal. The senseless, idle brutality makes even the mildest grow dark with vehement resolution—one more of the many errors in psychology of which the German beast and his despicable satellite have been guilty. Nothing could more surely make their doom inevitable than their night-raiding of the English home, and more and more clearly seen is it that we are engaged on the fiercest, as we may hope also the last, of all the great crusades.

But then that is perhaps to seem to hint back at notions of chivalry—and if there is one thing more certain and saddening than another it is that (apart from some wonderfully generous, almost quixotic, acts by some

members of our own fighting services) in a truer and wider sense than Burke ever lamented 'the age of chivalry is dead.' It used to be, even in the worst of the last war, that chivalry was to be found in the hearts of some German airmen, but now they machine-gun children in village and street, they bomb sailors rescuing their own comrades, there was even the characteristic incredulity of the German pilot who tried to burn his crashed plane even though his wounded comrades were still in it and could not understand that their lives mattered at all. This is on a par with the credulity, the other half of the despicable mentality that led one captured pilot to say complacently, 'I suppose I am your first prisoner,' and another to demand that 'he should be at once handed over to the German corps now on garrison duty in England.' Similarly, in the last war, I remember, some German prisoners passing through London to their camp asked as a favour that they might be allowed to see the ruins of Westminster Abbey. One of the really tragic and most difficult things about this world of ours and its future is the complete inability of the German to profit by experience: he learns, he desires to learn, nothing, even from decisive defeat, and when struck by the weapon he has himself used he whines in a plaintive and abject fashion. But this almost leads one towards the thorny subject of war aims—and the time for that is not yet.

So far all I have written here has been dominated by the air warfare which began on August 8: that has undergone a good many changes, each one of which has been forced upon the enemy and not chosen by him. There seems now no doubt whatever that his calculation was that by the September full moon at latest he would have smashed the Royal Air Force and that then invasion would be a reasonable risk with quick victory assured if it were at all successful. The Royal Air Force, far from being smashed, smashed his air-spearhead to bits and first forced him to delay and then to abandon—for an indefinite period at least—his hopes of a decision on the soil of these islands. Next he calculated, by having recourse to the night-bombing he had hitherto despised, to destroy our cities and our resolve—in both he has failed. We may await, with confidence, the outcome of the war in the air on which sooner or later (and probably

now sooner than later) our complete overthrow of Nazism will rest.

Before I leave this—and it may be remembered that in my article in the October 'Quarterly,' written in August, I was obliged to make an assumption, namely, that invasion would not have been attempted by October 1 (though it is still held in some circles that it was, and was frustrated still-born)—it is fitting to make one reference to the Home Guard, with which I was first out on armed patrol as far back as May 21. Whatever changes may come over that remarkable organisation—and several are adumbrated—whatever virtues or deficiencies are or have been in it, one thing is certain, that it made a repetition in this country of the appalling stabs in the back by those who are euphemistically called Fifth Columnists—or, in good old English, spies, traitors, and low-down scoundrels—an impossibility. It may well be doubted whether the English Fifth Column was ever numerically powerful; the Home Guard ensured that, whatever its number, it was impotent—and that was no small service to render the mother land in the summer and early autumn of 1940.

It is time to pass to the broader aspects of the last three months, always remembering that this matter of air warfare is, and remains, of predominant significance; and this without in any way belittling the truly wonderful, and less spectacular, achievements of the Royal Navy—and these, as we are all made aware by the Prime Minister, will become more, and not less, essential as the U-boat menace grows in its intensity. Since Dunkirk and its return home there is—as yet—little to be said of the Army, except as regards one aspect to which I must draw attention in a moment, but its day will return. (I write in mid-November and at any moment it may be—as we all recognise—defeating the combination of German and Italian in the East.)

That combination—and one other—has been the outward feature of the war of late; the failure of the annihilation of Britain set Hitler and Mussolini anxiously to work on alternatives: the first was the alliance with Japan, the second the invasion of Greece. This second, being directly military and changing day by day, does not fall within the scope of this commentary except just to

record the thrill of hope at the valour of the little Greek nation and the extension of facilities for our attacks by sea and air on the dastardly Italians. The first has had exactly the opposite effect to that intended. It was meant to intimidate the United States, but that great democracy, being, as we like to think, democratically averse to intimidation, reacted unfavourably to the Axis designs—since when President Franklin Roosevelt has been re-elected for his third term. And it is this matter of the relationship between Great Britain and the United States which is the second—or, it may well be argued, the first—of the great trends of the period under review. If the air is the first, Anglo-American cooperation is the second; and the truth is that the two are so closely linked that they are inseparable. This relationship, when all is said, is a very extraordinary one. Technically, officially, and even actually, the United States is a neutral, and yet I have only just returned from showing—with the full approval of our appropriate Government Department—a serving officer of one of the United States armed forces military secrets zealously guarded even from friends; and weeks and weeks ago now Mr Raymond Gram Swing, who ought to know the signification of words, used the term 'partners' to describe the British and American nations. So too 'The Times' thought it accurate to have a heading 'America feels the bombs'—though the bombs in fact were on London, not New York. Partners, yes, durably seeking the same result, resolutely shoulder to shoulder together against the most soul-destroying tyranny that has ever threatened the human race—but still, up to the date of writing, partners with one partner purchasing from the other, by means of cash derived from very heavy taxation of the purchaser, the material resources, the flow of armaments vitally needed to preserve the liberties of both. It may be permitted perhaps therefore to quote an American writer on what he describes as 'the softness' of his own compatriots: 'For exercise,' writes Roy Helton in 'Harper's Magazine,' 'mature Americans move faster and travel further under cover and on the seats of their pants than the citizens of any other nation in the world. They spend more time in enclosed rooms than any race that ever survived in all history.' More should come here,

where some rooms at least are, as one notice recorded, 'more open than usual.'

But how difficult is any commentary! For all one knows, a further change may have taken place in the relationship between the two great English-speaking nations before this article is printed. More than a year ago I dared to prophesy a third term for Franklin Roosevelt: I will not tempt fortune by setting down now my addition to that prophecy. We live at too great a pace for written prophecies. A little while ago I chanced—in a dentist's waiting-room, of course—to see an illustrated weekly of not quite recent date; it had pictures in it of a campaign that already seems almost of Napoleon's era, namely, our efforts in Norway this summer. Similarly, the Finnish flood of heroism and disaster is old, old history; and, coming home, how many ages ago is it since the triumphs of Mr Lloyd George; even the days of Lord Baldwin, when wishful thinking reigned supreme among sincere patriots and the most important of all public matters was the attitude of a sovereign to his kingship, seem as though they belonged not to our lifetime but to that of our fathers. And now of Lord Baldwin's successor, as of Abraham Lincoln, it may be said, 'he belongs to history.' Few men have been so abused, and so unjustly, as Mr Neville Chamberlain, and none have borne themselves under abuse with greater dignity. There is little doubt that in future days his achievements will be ranked high, even as his character always must be.

Yet so rapid are the transformations that any assessment of reputations becomes dangerous. Certain alone it is that in the times to be when a dispassionate record of these abnormal, hectic, and tremendous world-experiences is made (if ever any record will be made that will deserve to be called dispassionate) it will not be those whose names are now most prominently associated with different activities that will be blazoned. Probably any one of us who by chance or by business is closely associated with any sphere of Government work could name some one, usually in quite a subordinate position, to whom the real credit of that work should rightly be given. I could, if pressed, name, I think, one man as chiefly responsible for our present position in air warfare—and

I doubt if more than a very few would ever even have heard of him—and so, probably it is, in all departments. We have seen this autumn the most unusual see-sawing of action and inaction, energy and inefficiency; it is difficult, for instance, to think of anything more inept than some official announcements such as 'a well-known school in the south-west has been hit,' which obviously says either too much or too little, but then everything to do with our propaganda has long been past praying for—and in other ways the illogicalities of life are many. One I might mention which will wring only the withers of the galled jade, the taxpayer, and for him everybody cares individually and no one generally: on a day coincident with the save-your-scrap campaign, the anti-waste agitation, and the like, I met in a little village in the heart of the country a party consisting of twelve labourers, a big tar-spraying motor vehicle, and a wheeled contraption containing shingle—of which, additionally, many heaps had been brought and piled ready for later use—all this expenditure of men and material were employed in repairing a short section of a small lane which led to a carpenter's shop, the village blacksmith, and two cottages, and then ended in a cul-de-sac. When I questioned the foreman he told me they had all been sent to repair the lane because the carpenter had lodged a complaint that there was a roughness in front of his shop. Perhaps it is, after all, not so very odd that as a nation our qualities are still a little misunderstood.

Another illogicality, one that has caught the public imagination far and wide, starting, I believe, in Jamaica, is what is now universally known as the Spitfire Fund. It is one of the most astonishing developments of the war: thousands and thousands of people of all kinds and classes have most patriotically subscribed pounds, shillings, and pence—so that the total must approach millions—to buy Spitfires, which, so it is understood, will be called after the name of the factory, village, or family of the donors. But will they? Will more Spitfires be made in consequence? Are not all the Spitfires that the aircraft industry, in this country and elsewhere, can produce being produced already? And if not, why not? It would seem that this generous, this patriotic flow of volunteered money will, to some extent, relieve the tax-

payer ; and yet somehow I sometimes doubt, especially with the approach of the January demands, whether it will. But at all events the movement does attest in a definite and practical manner both the great-mindedness and also the resources of the private individual—and is on all accounts to be welcomed.

Less good, in truth, greatly to be criticised, are some other features of our public administration—our postal services, for instance. The railways, operating under obvious and great difficulties, have contrived to carry on extraordinarily well ; trains have often been late, but they have existed. I have had to do much travelling about England these last months and I have never yet been unable to get through as intended, whatever the *blitzkrieg* might have tried. But the postal services have been quite definitely bad : and we have never been told why, if trains arrive, posts should fail, except only a statement by the Postmaster-General that he has ascertained—after the *blitzkrieg* had begun—that many sorting offices had glass roofs, a discovery that might, one would almost have thought, have been made earlier in the war. And what defence can there be for the practice which enables a sender by paying an extra sixpence to secure a priority facility for an ordinary telegram ? Indeed, one regulation for the poor and another for the rich, on which it is surprising no M.P. has commented.

But, important as efficient postal services are to the adequate conduct of business, to say nothing of private convenience, there is a yet more serious deficiency brought to light this autumn. If Mr W. S. Morrison was slow to discover his glass roofs, Mr Herbert Morrison has not been slow to discover that his reading of 'home security' is not quite the same as that of his predecessors. But it is a sad commentary upon our national acumen that it was not until October that it was realised that underground shelters lacking warmth, bunks, conveniences, and the like were not suitable to winter security, but would be wonderful troops for Generals Influenza, Pneumonia, and their friends. I can at least here claim that I am not crying 'Stop thief !' after the horse is gone : it is two years and more since I urged, as far as my very limited capacity allowed, the provision of proper shelters as the one half of which the provision of aircraft was the other.

The Londoner, as he and his wife and children have all so magnificently shown, can endure anything with courage and humour; he can, as the phrase goes, 'take it'; but it is not merely statecraft and humanity, it is prudence to ensure that he and his are not tried one whit higher than is absolutely unavoidable. The neglect of this great problem by Mr Herbert Morrison's predecessors may conceivably be due to that same lack of prevision which so limited our defensive armaments, but at least now we may hope that it will really be tackled with all the resolution possible. Similarly too the transport problem: we may be deeply thankful that on this at any rate we have at long last a Minister who for years has studied it. What has happened much too much under all Prime Ministers of modern times has been the putting of men over Ministries who were utterly unfitted for their departmental work either by temperament or training—and, expensive and wasteful as has been the result in peace, in war it can only herald disaster.

One more criticism—perhaps it is much that in times of such stress and among problems of such magnitude there are not more. It would, however, be impossible to conclude this survey without some reference to the deep, and ill-founded, complacency of the War Office about the mind and well-being of the troops. Every questioner is blandly told that all is, and always has been, for the best in the best of all possible worlds: and yet as late in the autumn as October 8 'The Times' correspondent could naïvely write of the plans for treating the soldier as though he had a mind as well as a body, 'it would have been foolish to court publicity while everything was in the stage of experiment'—this after those who had studied and worked on the whole question in the last war, from H. A. L. Fisher, 'Tim' Harington, and others downwards, had been begging, almost imploring, the military authorities to get busy again on the former well-tried lines for months and months past without receiving the very smallest encouragement. Of this I write with first-hand knowledge: their letters about their efforts and the reception of those efforts are in my possession. The truth is that very, very slowly the Army has at length felt it necessary to do something, that the number of units for whose welfare and education nothing has been

done still remains considerable, and that the one thing upon which decision was quickly reached was a determination not to profit by anything done in the last war or even to admit that anything had ever been done before. The amount of waste involved in the weeks and months of young men's lives unprofitably passed hardly bears thinking about; and it says volumes for the national spirit that, even so, their morale should remain so invincibly high.

I have space left for little more: so much is happening continuously not only in the sphere of obvious, outward events but equally in that of the undercurrents and trends of human thought that it is necessary to be strictly selective. But to present, however cursorily, an adequate picture there is need to refer to three further things. First, the part played by the clergy: it was said, I remember, often enough, sometimes malevolently by scoffers and sometimes sadly by the devout, that the clergy failed somewhat in the tremendous convulsions and distresses of the last war—it has not been said in this. Already fifty-seven clergymen have given their lives in pursuance of their duties, and from all sides come stories of others visiting parishioners in the midst of raids, helping in shelters and the like: this will not be forgotten and it will bear fruit fully in due season. Secondly, it is to be noted that that strange and enigmatic land of Russia has allowed it to be written that whereas the last war was a war of the *bourgeoisie*, and so one with which a Soviet Russia would have no sympathy, this, on the other hand, was—and the writing was not of the combatants generally but of Great Britain—a 'people's war.' If M. Maisky should spend any of his nights in, say, a London tube, he would, I think, find ample confirmation for that opinion.

And, thirdly and finally, we most of us had a pretty shrewd idea, before ever this war began, what our King and Queen meant to us, to the Empire, to the United States, and to all lovers of freedom: we are even more alive to-day to their significance. I am not one of those who consider that the bombing of Buckingham Palace was a crime; our King is an integral, essential part of our Government, he is, moreover, head of all three fighting services, and it is as legitimate to bomb him and

his household as it is to bomb any other (if, that is, bombing of households is in any event legitimate): it was not, in my judgment, a crime, but it was a blunder of the first magnitude. It ensured that in any and every circle of political thought and activity there could be but one opinion—that the King and his Queen were at one with the humblest of their subjects, subject to the same danger and the same loss. It set an imperishable seal upon their reign—not that they needed it, for every action of their courage and selflessness has linked them with their people to a degree almost beyond belief—and far beyond the distorted imagination of a dictator, feared it may be, but continuously guarded, and hated as few have ever been in all man's blood-stained existence.

GORELL.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

Final Edition. E. F. Benson.
On Circuit. Sir Frank Douglas MacKinnon.
Dynamic Defence. Capt. Liddell Hart.
More than I Should. Faith Compton Mackenzie.
The Seasons and the Gardener. H. E. Bates.
Social Aspects in Crime in England Between the Wars. Dr Hermann Mannheim.

Andrew Marvell. M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas.
Rare Prologues and Epilogues. Aubrey Nell Wiley.
Remove the Shackles. A. Grant McGregor.
Collected Poems. Lady Margaret Sackville.
A Long Look Back. Ella R. Christie and Alice King Stewart.
Lundy, Isle of Puffins. Mr Richard Perry.

WE are told in 'Final Edition,' by E. F. Benson (Longmans) that Canon 'Dick' Sheppard once wrote: 'I wonder why people who say their prayers don't thank God for aspirin, Phillips's patent soles, E. F. Benson, Jane Austen, Charlie Chaplin, and other really soul-filling things.' That is an odd selection and conjunction perhaps, but very many readers have been grateful to Mr Benson for many hours spent happily and profitably with his sparkling novels, not-too-heavy biographies, and social chronicles, and will be sad to think that with his passing there will be no more. Many well-known people appear in the pages of 'Final Edition': sovereigns, archbishops, cardinals, writers, musicians, and artists; Henry James, Philip Burne-Jones, Mary Cholmondeley, Baron Corvo, Sir Edward Elgar, Sir Edmund Gosse, the Lyttelton family, Sir Herbert Tree, Dame Ethel Smyth, and others. The portraits given of them are skilful and courteous, but in some cases, as with Lord Battersea, devastatingly barbed. The chief feature of the book, however, is the picture it gives of the three Benson brothers, their mother, and their sister. The three brothers, alike in their amazing literary fecundity and gift of easy flowing words, were altogether different in their tastes, outlook on life and surroundings. About their and their sister's handicaps there is complete frankness—Arthur's persistent neurasthenia, Maggie's sad insanity, Fred's arthritis, and perhaps it is not unfair to say that Hugh's Roman Catholic complex is treated in the same class. The portrait of old Mrs Benson is charming and sympathetic, and it could hardly be otherwise in the case of so fine and striking a character. Undoubtedly this book will be much enjoyed, and rightly so.

It is a pleasing proof of cooperation between the ancient universities when a distinguished member of one has his book published by the Press of the other. This is the case with '*On Circuit*,' written by Sir Frank Douglas MacKinnon, Lord Justice of Appeal and Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and published by the Cambridge University Press. During the years that the author went on Circuit as Justice of Assize he visited 58 out of the 61 Assize towns in England and Wales. He also kept a most interesting, instructive, and evidently outspoken diary, from which this exceedingly attractive and informative volume is compiled. Notes, comments, praise, and criticism of courts, Judges' Lodgings, legal ceremonies, historical traditions, quaint survivals, architecture, churches, castles, country houses, scenery, pictures, and such like fill the pages. From the splendours of judicial accommodation at Durham, York, Oxford, or Cambridge, or the comforts of Mold to the squalor of the former Lodgings at Haverfordwest; from York Minster or Winchester Cathedral to the mid-Victorian ugliness of Newtown Church; from the stately ritual of present-day Assizes, with trumpeters, javelin men, and in some cases dignified ancient coaches, to the sanitary habits of certain eighteenth-century judges, we are shown most enlightening and informative contrasts, written with expert skill and humour. To have acted as Marshal to such a Judge must have been the cause of much enjoyment, and certainly of much bodily exercise, with frequent walks of twenty miles or so after work or in going to the next Assize town.

Captain Liddell Hart is always interesting, always trenchant in his criticism, usually provocative of thought and argument, always very sure of the correctness of his own point of view, and seldom averse from pointing out how right he has been in his opinions expressed in the past. His new book, '*Dynamic Defence*' (Faber), is true to type and is well worth careful reading. He does not spare the higher authorities of the War Office (with the exception of Mr Hore-Belisha, for whom he has a very special regard) concerning their lack of foresight over mechanized war and their apparent inclination to fit round pegs into square holes in the higher appointments. 'During the time that has passed,' he says,

'since the collapse of France, there has been little sign that understanding has caught up with events. Statesmen, soldiers, and publicists vie with one another in talking martial platitudes—grasping at the obvious and missing the reality.' Many will think that statement too crushing, and indeed it would seem that we have learned much from the collapse of France. It might be added that Captain Hart in criticising the strategy of the French and ourselves hardly makes enough allowance for the political causes which alas had too often to overrule military considerations. If the armies had not been rushed to the help of Belgium but had remained on the French frontier in prepared positions and with reserves still behind, the story might have been very different. The might-have-been is usually a sad study. This little book, clearly and forcibly written, makes the reader think, and in that admirably fulfils its purpose.

In these grim days books like 'More than I Should,' by Faith Compton Mackenzie (Collins), make pleasant escapist reading. Here is easy-flowing autobiography set in islands, Capri, Herm, Jethou, Shiant, Eilean Aigas, and Barra, telling of daily life in gardens, work and play, sunshine hours, friends, talks, gramophones, and cats, the last two being, according to 'Who's Who,' Mr Compton Mackenzie's special recreations. Among the friends we find Dr Axel Munthe, the Brett Youngs, D. H. Lawrence and his wife, Madame Edvina, and many others well known in art and literature. But the dominating figure is 'Monty,' Mr Compton Mackenzie himself, who indeed is fortunate to have so charming a wife to sing his praises and extol his virtues in so attractive a way. There are one or two glimpses of Mussolini in holiday mood, but of the international affairs and great events the book does not claim to make any record. It is an easy and agreeably digressive chronicle of the lesser events of daily life and intercourse, which mean so much though they appear so small, and Mrs Compton Mackenzie presents them with real charm and skill.

Mr H. E. Bates says that his book 'The Seasons and the Gardener' (Cambridge University Press), written for the benefit of his own and other children, is aimed at showing that 'gardening is a very old, satisfying, and beautiful part of man's civilised life.' Few will dispute

this claim, and not only children but their older relations too will enjoy Mr. Bates' presentation of it. The only criticism of the book is that there is not enough of it; but in about 70 pages it deals in attractively simple and conversational style with many subjects that affect the gardener: the flower, vegetable, and rock gardens, the greenhouse, birds, insects, seed-sowing, colour, preparing for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, tools and catalogues. In such brief space naturally these subjects which could each fill a book of their own can only be treated in a summary way, but enough is said to lead readers on to want more, and especially to try their own hands at gardening, and by this the author's aim is achieved. Mr Tunnicliffe's illustrations are an additional and striking attraction in the book.

In 'Social Aspects in Crime in England Between the Wars' (George Allen and Unwin) Dr Hermann Mannheim deals of course with the post-1918 period. What these aspects will be after the present war no prescience can accurately foresee. As the struggle is greater, so will all its results be, and, so far as crime is concerned, they are apt to be evil. Dr Mannheim, who thoroughly learned his difficult job by many years' work as a judge in Berlin, relies mainly on the statistical method, yet wisely keeps reminding his reader that to do so unduly leads to distortion or even falsehood. Figures can tell us much, but, when dealing with human behaviour under abnormal conditions, they must be kept in their proper perspective by all the other relevant factors. In Part I we are given an invaluable account of the structure and proper interpretation of the criminal statistics of England and Wales, and here, as elsewhere, the author's continental experience enables him to give the English figures a juster and more accurate valuation. In Part II the various crimino-sociological aspects are examined under chapters dealing with unemployment and strikes, alcoholism, methods of business administration (a particularly valuable chapter), gambling, juvenile delinquency (to which two important chapters are devoted), female delinquency and prostitution, and a final chapter on recidivism. In spite of a long history of philanthropy the scientific study of criminology is in England a comparatively recent study. Crime was something to be

punished, excused, explained away or glossed over, not something to be objectively understood. Even now there is altogether too much of the sentimental approach : the criminal is interesting, or misunderstood, or the result of social injustice, whereas, in ninety cases out of a hundred, he or she is simply the result of their own weakness or self-indulgence. Criminals, as a class, are much given to maudlin self-pity. Certain broad facts brought out by Dr Mannheim may be noted : criminal gang activities do not flourish in this country : there are crimes, and 'crimes known to the police,' those not so known being regarded for statistical purposes as uncommitted. The police, for example, in different towns take totally different views of what is described as a 'known thief.' A study such as this is a most useful antidote to the spate of unduly subjective books on crime and criminals from which we have lately been suffering. It will be invaluable to all students of its subject, and the citizen who believes that no man liveth to himself will be deeply grateful for its wise guidance and factual truth.

In 'Andrew Marvell,' by M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas (Cambridge University Press), we have a study, brief and compact, that may well serve to revive interest in the man and his work. Marvell's poetry has had considerable attention from notable students, but his personality and his prose writings have been somewhat neglected. Writing at a time when English prose was in a transitional stage he was a true pioneer and a lover of words. If to us his style seems unduly pompous and involved it must be remembered that he belonged to the tail of the great Elizabethan comet rather than to the cool dawn of the classical revival. It is one of the many ironies of literature that this friend of Lovelace, who threw in his lot with the Roundheads, and whose most famous poem, 'An Horatian Ode,' was written to honour Cromwell, should have his best-known stanza annexed by the Royalists :

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try ; . . .
While round the armed bands
Did clap their bloody hands.

These lines, if somewhat hackneyed, are Marvell at his best: simple, taut, inevitable, yet conveying passion and splendour. Always defending toleration, Marvell respected James Duke of York because he openly became a Catholic 'for conscience sake,' and after the Restoration he continued to work for the State. Marvell loved a glass of wine, good company, and Charles II, himself so tolerant, appreciated his wit. At times he showed the 'temper and tongue of a bargee,' and is described by Aubrey as of 'middling stature, pretty stoutsett, roundish faced, cherry-cheek't, hazell eie, brown haire.' In fact a fellow with whom to spend pleasant and profitable war-time evenings.

It says much for the vitality of English publishing that such a delightfully unnecessary book as 'Rare Prologues and Epilogues' (George Allen and Unwin) should make its appearance over a year after the outbreak of war. The editor, Aubrey Nell Wiley, knows as well as we do that prologues and epilogues can be wearisome things; even Shakespeare's are seldom read and seldomer spoken. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were all the rage because their topical allusions and impertinences took the town. It is dreadful to know that in her long search to make this volume exhaustive the editor read more than one thousand six hundred plays (most of which must have been bad), as well as miscellanies, newspapers, manuscripts, and critical discourses. The famous libraries of England, private and public, have been ransacked, and the result is a volume of varied and enduring interest. Amongst typical efforts by such writers as Dryden, Otway, and Shadwell we are given examples by less famous writers. Our ancestors were no more fastidious in their taste than we are, and an epilogue to a comic play, however poor in itself, was accepted as screamingly funny if the person spouting it came on to the stage in a ridiculous manner. It is said of Joseph Haynes (or Haines) that 'he never enjoyed praise so enduring as that which came when he mounted an ass to speak an epilogue'! Authors as famous as Beaumont and Fletcher not only wrote prologues for their own plays but for those of other dramatists—a pretty example of back-scratching that has, unfortunately, gone out of fashion. Perhaps some enterprising publisher

will revise this useful practice by getting a rival publisher to write his 'blurbs.' Five appendices, an excellent index, and eight charmingly reproduced illustrations contribute to the attractions of this comely piece of bookmaking.

Sir Archibald Mitchelson, in his brief introduction to 'Remove the Shackles,' by A. Grant McGregor (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons), says: 'Reading "The Times" I was impressed by the confidence with which Mr McGregor, in a letter to the editor, took Mr Keynes and Sir William Beveridge to task for advocating respectively "voluntary retrenchment in spending" and "planning and organisation of our whole production" as policies for assisting the prosecution of the war.' Neither necessity is attractive to the average Englishman, and Mr McGregor declares that they are not only unnecessary but unwise. His much pleasanter plan is to raise wages and salaries all round. He says: Raising wages raises prices: 'But raising wages raises the consuming power of the employed, and raising prices raises the demand for capital and labour, thus raising the numbers of employed.' This doctrine is, to some extent, held by the Labour Party. Drawing on his wide experience as a mechanical engineer the author declares that 'the solution of the economic problem is merely a question of balance between the opposing economic forces involved.' Quite so. But the engineer is dealing with ascertainable facts; the economist is largely concerned with mutable human factors. Mr McGregor would away with bank credit policy as the necessary tool for controlling the price level. Bankers should only be free to expand bank credit for the short-term needs of the Government and their trustworthy clients; all long-term accommodation, including the purchase of Government bonds, should be allowed only from savings, and most economists, orthodox and otherwise, would agree with him that such is the ideal practice. But is it practicable? Raising wages and salaries to keep consuming power in step with productive power, even if possible in peace, seems hardly feasible in war. If we raised all wages to-morrow would not the resultant demand for luxuries—our necessities being limited—bring an immediate reduction of our war effort?

The publication of the 'Collected Poems' of Lady Margaret Sackville (Martin Secker) is an assurance that

while still comparatively young she has been placed on probation amongst the Immortals. Throughout her career as a poet she has suffered from two disabilities. The first is that, as in the case of Shakespeare, once a work is completed it ceases to interest her, and she therefore sometimes fails in that eternal quest for perfection in the absence of which the very highest peaks of Parnassus are seldom scaled and seldomer held. The other is that in an age when impressionism and all that is vague and vapoury was in fashion the classical spirit which is assuredly here has been out of fashion. That, perhaps, is no great matter, because fashion and fame seldom go together. Because of copyright and other difficulties those who have followed with interest the development of Lady Margaret's powers will miss some favourites; nevertheless, the collection is fairly representative, and the poet's brief and modest introduction is a personal confession for which we are grateful. She has, on the whole, inclined away from the tragic mood in which she made her earlier successes. We are, however, given 'The Pythoness' and 'Syrinx,' both worthy to stand amongst the great dramatic poems of our tongue; amongst the dramas is an early work of great beauty, 'The Wooing of Dionysius'; there are a goodly number of Epigrams and Epitaphs, and these last the poet correctly describes as miniature biographies. In the Epigrams Lady Margaret is conspicuously successful in attaining Greek perfection of form in a variety of moods quite outside the compass of Greek inspiration. It says much for the high quality of the few 1914-18 war poems here reprinted that the much more terrible and vital struggle in which we are now engaged does little, if anything, to minimise their truth and poignancy; indeed they are even comforting in that they witness the immutability of man's courage and power to conquer disaster and death. Warm will be the reader's gratitude to Lady Margaret for including a goodly few of her felicitous lighter poems, in every one of which she touches with a musician's fingers the varied strings of the harp of laughter and tears, dance and song, sunrise and sunset, flowers and childhood. Happily we may still expect fuller largess of beauty and passion from this poet of masculine inspiration and feminine subtlety and sympathy.

Readers interested in Scottish life and customs during the latter half of last century will find much to please them in 'A Long Look Back,' by Ella R. Christie and Alice King Stewart (Seeley Service). Certainly the Christie family could not be considered typical because few parents, even though they had the means, were in those days so broadminded and far-seeing in the way of educating and exciting and training the interests of their children, while still maintaining the traditional mode of life associated with Scottish Presbyterianism. We imagine that few houses contain more artistic treasures and other products of countries all over the world, collected personally by the owners, than the Christie family home at Cowden in Perthshire, and perhaps it may be added that few homes have attracted a truer or more interesting circle of friends to enjoy never-failing hospitality.

Till Lady Stewart's marriage the book, so to speak, runs on the same lines, afterwards naturally the interests of the sisters diverge and Lady Stewart has much to say about social life and work and amusement in Lanarkshire, while Miss Christie remained at Cowden, with intervals for her remarkable and outstanding journeys to the little-known parts of Asia and Africa—journeys of which all too little is told in this book. Some of the word pictures given of old-time Presbyterian ministers are specially interesting and no one should miss the chapter on the Haldane family. The reader on putting the book down is saddened by the thought that Lady Stewart passed away while the proofs were printing.

Ornithological specialists will find Mr Richard Perry's 'Lundy, Isle of Puffins' (Lindsay Drummond) invaluable, with its day to day, and indeed often hour to hour, record of bird watchings. Less specialist lovers of birds will also find much to interest them even though the amount of detail, while evoking admiration, may seem overwhelming. Lundy is an interesting place for the natural historian—a three-mile-long flat-topped, steep-sided, wind-swept block of granite, practically treeless yet grassed and heathered and bushed. It has only eighteen inhabitants, including the staffs of the two lighthouses. It is the home of sheep, deer, goats and rabbits—but above all of birds. Mr Perry's special study during five months residence last year was of puffins, guillemots, razorbills and

kittiwakes, the resident population of which is estimated at 70,000. As a result of intense observation he has been able to record the complete story of these birds' breeding activities in unbroken sequence. In addition there are interesting chapters on cormorants and migratory birds. Mr Perry's thoroughness and enthusiasm are worthy of all praise, and his book should be a standard one on the subject for a long time to come.

